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The Week

AS THESE lines are being written, it seems most unlikely that Adolf Hitler will be able to head the new German government. It is understood that von Hindenburg made Hitler's accession to the chancellorship dependent upon several conditions. Hitler would have had to agree to continue the von Papen One Year Plan, the program which he and the National Socialist press have bitterly attacked. He would have been forced to consent to the raising of the voting age, cutting the ground under his own feet thereby, since the Fascist voting strength lies in the youth of Germany, with those men and women who would be disfranchised were the von Hindenburg condition to be fulfilled. Finally he would have needed the promise of the parties backing him that they would perpetuate his government for two years, a condition which no party taking itself seriously could accept unless it, in turn, were given the guarantee that the Chancellor would, in all important questions, adhere to a policy on which all parties of the coalition are in agreement.

TO DO this would mean to abandon the National Socialist program and its principal demands. It is well known that the Fascist party leadership is sharply divided on the proposed participation in the government. The group led by Hitler and Feder would have accepted the vice-chancellorship and the Prime Ministry of Prussia after the July election had it not been forced to refuse the offer by the more radical group of Goebbel and Strasser which represents the industrial workers of the party and emphasizes the social demands of the party's platform. The American press reports that Hitler left the presidential palace after the long Saturday conference happy and smiling, giving the impression that he believed the difficulties solved, and that he wrote to von Hindenburg on Monday afternoon, after a long consultation with his party chiefs, advancing a counter-proposition. Von Papen is definitely out of the picture. Von Schleicher, who again conducts negotiations behind the scene, will most certainly be a member of the next Cabinet, if not its leader. Together with von Hindenburg he is playing a keen game, endeavoring to fight Communism with National Socialism, in the hope that both giants may perish in the combat, leaving the reactionary Junkers and industrialists in sole possession of the political and economic field.

THE scramble to get "beer before Christmas" is an aspect of our national political life which nobody could be proud of. Those who are behind it know that other problems of desperate importance will be before Congress this winter. Most of them realize that the possible revenue from beer has been greatly exaggerated. They are aware that simply to let down the bars (and put up the brass rails) before the public has had time to think about the conditions under which the legal sale of beer and wine ought to be permitted, is an unwise policy. They realize that President Roosevelt is almost certain to call the Seventy-third Congress in special session shortly after his inauguration, and that the proportion of Wets will be higher in it than in the closing session of the Seventy-second. Yet still they agitate. They are rendered the more implacable, no doubt, by consideration of the results of referenda on this

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question on November 8 in various states—results which almost got lost in the general news, but which were of genuine importance.

ELEVEN states voted on prohibition in one way or another. All eleven of them went Wet. State enforcement laws were repealed in Arizona, California, Colorado, Louisiana, New Jersey, North Dakota and Washington, making the total number which now have no enforcement thirteen. Oregon repealed its law against merely possessing liquor. Michigan voted Wet in an advisory referendum. Connecticut and Wyoming both plumped for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Some of these states—North Dakota, Arizona, Colorado, for instance—were supposed to be wedded to prohibition for life. Their action helps to explain why the politicians were so anxious, in the national convention last June, to get out from under. It also helps justify the expectation that the next Congress is likely to begin the process of repealing the Amendment.

ON Tuesday of this week the Associated Press reported the popular vote of the parties in the recent election, in so far as it had then been registered at Washington. Roosevelt had 21,357,057 votes and Hoover 15,091,259. Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, was credited with 616,185, a figure which will probably be raised to 750,000 by the final returns; he received about 267,000 in 1928. William Z. Foster, the Communist candidate, was given 21,282, a published figure which seems difficult to explain in view of the fact that some 50,000 Foster votes have already been counted in the three states of New York, Illinois and Minnesota. Verne L. Reynolds of the Socialist-Labor party had 5,473 and W. D. Upshaw, the prohibitionist, 32,684. These returns, except for Hoover and Roosevelt, are of course far from being complete. The ballots for the other parties will not have been counted, and their number certified to Washington, until at least the middle of December. In the case of the Socialist and Communist vote, it is reasonable to assume that, as always in the past, large numbers of their ballots were thrown out by conservative election officials. It is also reasonable to assume that hundreds of thousands of persons who would have liked to vote for Thomas or Foster had been disfranchised by the depression, having lost the suffrage through inability to pay the poll tax, through being wards of public charity or through enforced change of residence. In the case of the Thomas vote, there seems no doubt that many thousands of non-Socialist voters, who had intended to support him, shifted to Roosevelt at the last minute because they feared Mr. Hoover might be reëlected after all and this was a calamity they could not contemplate. It is also reasonable to assume that American Socialism is sufficiently a middle-class movement so that it is overrepresented in the sort of bourgeois home which is characteristic of the Literary Digest audience. Yet even with these allowances made, the radical vote remains distinctly disappointing.

THE news which trickles in from Utah about the late election confirms the first enthusiastic reports of the Utahns (as they like to call themselves) that what happened there was more like an earthquake, or at least a revolution, than an ordinary election. The defeat of Reed Smoot, Apostle of the Mormon Church, beloved among the Hoover Republicans, the man who has packed Washington with his deserving friends, each and every one of them on the government pay roll—such a thing seemed out of the question, yet defeated he was. Sensing trouble, the Republicans brought up some of their heaviest guns. Vice President Curtis came and spoke for him, Secretaries Wilbur and Hyde, and finally, just before the election, President Hoover himself. Heber J. Grant, head of the Mormon Church came out for him—and the Mormon Church has heretofore been all-powerful in Utah politics. The rich and strong copper interests threatened their employees with closed-down plants if Hoover and Smoot were not returned to office. To emphasize the tie between Republicanism and the church, President Hoover was taken to call on President Grant in the latter's office, when illness prevented his attending the public meeting. In spite of it all, the voters of Utah, like those in so many other states, stood up and told the bosses, political and economic, to go chase themselves. Instead of Smoot, whose grammar and pronunciation have been the only humorous elements in his speeches, the state will have in the Senate Dr. Elbert D. Thomas, professor of Political Science at the University of Utah, who is as much an expert in scholarship as he is a novice in politics. The world do move—at least, a little.

AMONG the election results which a progressive can contemplate most cheerfully was the victory of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota. In that state, the party elected five out of nine members of Congress, although in the last session only one Farmer-Laborite was in the delegation—P. J. Kvale, who was reëlected. Among the new members is Magnus Johnson, former United States Senator from Minnesota. The Farmer-Labor party also reëlected Governor Floyd B. Olson, and put in its men as lieutenant-governor, attorney general and as member of the railroad warehouse commission. Through a fusion with Democrats and Independents, the Farmer-Labor party claims control of the lower house of the state legislature, and expects to elect its candidate as Speaker.

ONE of the oldest and strongest organizations of unemployed in the country is the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, Washington, which has now become a part of a statewide movement, the

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United Producers' League. The Seattle organization not only engages in numerous economic activities, which have already been described in The New Republic (June 8, 1932), but is coming to be influential in politics as well. In the recent national, state and local elections in Washington, a surprisingly large number of radicals won with the backing of the organized unemployed. Indeed, in King County, where Seattle is located, only one candidate who had their support failed of election. Homer Bone, bitterly opposed by the conservative press and business interests, defeated Senator Wesley L. Jones by a two-to-one vote. Marion Zioncheck, a young lawyer whose practice has largely consisted of the defense of radicals, and who repeated in his speeches that he was a radical, decisively defeated John Miller, who had been a representative for several terms. Both these men made direct appeals to the U.P.L. and U.C.L. and were actively supported by these organizations. In King County, two of the three county commissioners, Louis Nash and John C. Stevenson, were put into office almost wholly by the direct efforts of the U.C.L. Both are pledged to the relief program of the U.C.L. as opposed to the plan for county management started by the commissioners they defeated. Interesting here is the fact that Stevenson was fought by Mayor John Dore in a series of savage radio talks, so that his election shows how much the support of the U.C.L. had previously helped elect Dore, and how completely he has turned the League against him. Dore made his campaign last spring largely an appeal to the U.C.L., and has fulfilled few if any of the promises made them. The U.P.L. and U.C.L. made no recommendations for Governor, but other candidates elected include representatives and senators in the state legislature who had the endorsement of the unemployed.

World Debts and Domestic Deflation

IT MAY be taken for granted that postponement of war-debt payments due December 15, as requested by all our principal European debtors, will not be conceded. The President has not the power to act in the matter, and Congress, even if it were favorably inclined, would have difficulty in passing the necessary legislation so soon after it convened. Congress, of course, is not favorably inclined.

What the immediate effect will be it is impossible to predict. If Great Britain and France decide not to default, they will probably be able to pay this instalment. The consequence may be a prompt disturbance in stock markets and in foreign exchange, caused by the disposal of British financial resources in this country, or reduction of gold reserves in London, or the sale of non-British currencies held in reserve. Even if immediately depressing effects are not forthcoming, however, the ultimate effect cannot be escaped. Our debtors cannot pay us by a net balance of exports; they must therefore do so in the end by shipping us more gold. This is likely to unsettle the exchange value of the pound sterling, thus further obstructing international trade and encouraging another fall of prices. A factor of depression universally recognized by experts will be intensified.

What is of more importance is the stubborn attitude of Congress on the question of revision in the future. No beginning can be made at the task of reviving international trade until this question is settled. General knowledge that Congress intends to allow the present anomalous situation to drift on, when it is faced with a definite request for revision by the European nations, will of course deliver another body blow at whatever timid stirrings of confidence there may be. This nation is, at the present crisis, showing itself to be just as blind to the plain implication of economic facts, just as reluctant to unloose its grasp at the throat of the economic system, as any other nation which has, in nominal pursuit of its own interests, contributed to the general calamity. France, by its long insistence on reparations, contributed much to the post-war economic confusion; we have now taken the place of France as the chief obstacle to recovery. Apparently we must learn by still more bitter experience what we might have learned by clear thinking if we had been capable, as a political entity, of objective thought. Let those who are now agitating against any war-debt revision be remembered months hence, if people are then wondering why the clouds still show no signs of lifting.

But it would be both unrealistic and unfair to stop with this observation. Short-sighted agitators of public opinion alone could not produce so tragic an addition to the world's woes unless the public whom they influence had its own reasons for following their lead. The federal budget is far from balanced; non-receipt of war-debt payments would throw it still further out. This means higher taxes to a nation already in revolt against the taxes which exist. Our government debt is a heavy burden to us, and few who want to cancel or write down the foreign war debt are proposing correspondingly to cancel or write down our own. Farmers and home owners find it just as difficult to pay interest and principal on their mortgages as do European nations on their war borrowings. But there is no serious intention among bankers and conservative politicians to advocate a mortgage moratorium or a general mortgage revision. What about the private debts of foreigners whose bonds and shares were sold in this country? Many of them are already defaulted, to be sure, but is there any program for dealing with the others? Is it not assumed that the creditors will go ahead to collect as much as they can? And how about

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domestic railroad bonds, industrial bonds, utility bonds?

Comparisons like these are usually employed to strengthen the case against war-debt revision. Debtors in this country want company in their misery; many creditors are afraid to set the precedent of forgiving debts on a large scale because they are aware of the powerful movement among American farmers for a similar policy at home. But the argument should really be turned in the other direction. Almost every good reason for war-debt reduction may, with slight modification, be used to show the desirability of reducing other debt burdens.

The debts were incurred at a higher price level; this fact increases by approximately 50 percent their present burden on debtors and the economic system in general. This is just as true of domestic and private as of foreign and public debts.—The shrinkage of trade makes it harder to pay. Domestic trade, like foreign, has shrunk.—The necessity of payment renders the debtors poorer customers for new production. As true of Iowa farmers as of Great Britain and France.—High fixed charges increase costs of production and render those who bear them less efficient competitors. Surely American railroads supply a prime example of this truth.—The war debts were incurred for unproductive purposes. This is not true of all private debts, but it is true of bond issues to finance mergers and holding companies, of mortgages to enable farmers to purchase land already in cultivation, where the debt represents merely an increase in price, of real-estate mortgages on homes, of chattel mortgages on consumers' goods bought on instalment.—The transfer problem, arising from the difference of currencies among nations and the necessity of paying debts in gold, affects private foreign debts just as much as war debts. It even has its counterpart in the effort to discharge domestic indebtedness. For just as Great Britain, though she may raise sufficient sums in pounds, finds it embarrassing to buy the necessary dollars, so the wheat farmer has plenty of bushels of grain but finds them sadly depreciated in terms of currency. In both cases the difficulty may be traced back to an unbalance in the exchange of goods and services.

The whole world's economic activities are weighed down under a burden of debt impossible to carry. The war debts are only a minor part of this burden, though they are a peculiarly obtrusive and annoying part. We shall not recover until the burden is somehow lifted. This has always been one of the chief arguments of the reflationists. If the price level of commodities could be restored to the point at which the debts were incurred, the category of prices represented by fixed charges on debt would be easier to pay. If the price level of commodities cannot be restored, it is necessary to deflate debt prices.

Earlier in the depression The New Republic published an editorial entitled "Inflate or Deflate." The argument was that it was necessary to bring about a new balance of prices and purchasing power either by raising the prices which had fallen most or by going on to reduce those which had fallen least. The first alternative, it was contended, was less painful and therefore should be attempted first. If, after a trial of six months or so, it showed insufficient results, we ought to go on to the second. It is our judgment that we can no longer hope for the success of the attempt to inflate. The effort to bring it about through enlarging bank reserves and stimulating private borrowing has failed. The recommended attempt to bring it about by enlarged governmental borrowing and expenditures on public works has not been made, and probably will not be made because of the budgetary difficulties which it would create. Its ultimate result would be dubious in any case. The Socialist proposal to liquidate debts by means of a capital levy is sound in theory, but will not be applied. Rigorous deflation of prices which have not fallen is the only alternative. It is a painful process at best, but the more intelligently and quickly it can be done, the less painful it will be in the long run, and the nearer we shall be to a possibility of resuming trade. If the Roosevelt administration is to have an integrated economic policy to replace that which failed under Hoover, this should be its first concern.

Such a policy would involve measures like the following:

> Reduce or cancel war debts as quickly as possible.
>
> Cease lending money through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to insolvent railroads; allow them to be reorganized by receiverships.
>
> Refund public debts at lower rates of interest as soon as possible; reduce them by much higher taxes on incomes, profits and estates.
>
> To this end, amend the federal income-tax law so as to encourage resort to higher income taxes by the states, by granting an exemption in states having income taxes.
>
> Enforce a general scaling down of principal and interest on farm and home mortgages, and the granting of a moratorium while the plan is being worked out.

The creditors, through their chief spokesmen, the bankers, will hear nothing of such "unsound" measures as inflation and currency expansion. They should therefore be compelled to accept the only alternative—a devaluation of their claims on society. By denying the first policy and resisting the second, they blockade the resumption of exchange.

We should by all means deal drastically with war debts, but we cannot stop there. We must push the process of writing off debts to its logical conclusion. If the fight of Congress on war-debt leniency leads to this outcome, it will have amply justified itself. It would thus furnish another illustration that democracies, in their blind and gar-

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gantuan twistings, sometimes represent more truth than the representatives of a favored class who see only that part of the truth which serves their immediate interest.

Will Japan Destroy the League?

IT HAS become a commonplace to say that in the Manchurian question the League of Nations is facing the greatest test it has had since its beginning. The actions of Japan, both in Manchuria itself and in Shanghai, despite all the technical defenses which she may be able to set up, constitute a defiance of the spirit of the League's various engagements to keep the peace, as well as of the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which the United States foisted upon a reluctant world. The Lytton Report was first conceived as that favorite dodge of statesmen—a scheme to postpone decision for a time. It turned out to be a skillfully planned compromise, which neither gave Manchuria back to China nor accepted the Japanese occupation. But such a compromise does not lie within the perspective of the present rulers of Japan. They must rule or ruin—and if necessary, both. On the eve of the League's discussion of the Report, Japan announced again her refusal to accept it. There is little doubt that she would resign from the League—she would even go to war—to maintain her present position.

What are the possible developments? It is conceivable, of course, that the League will simply accept the Manchurian position as deplorable but unalterable, work out some face-saving formula, and let things go. In that case, China will doubtless withdraw from the League, and it is possible that some other countries might follow her example, in disgust over the wide gap between pretension and performance. It is possible, though much less likely, that terms will be offered to Japan which will seem unacceptable to her, and that she will therefore resign from the League and prepare if necessary to defend herself and her "independent state" of Manchukuo by force of arms. It is also possible that the League will again table the issue and seek indefinite delay, with the Micawberish hope that something may turn up before long to solve the question.

During the twelve years of the League's existence, there have been other serious international disputes, chief of them the Corfu incident. In each of these, the League itself was comparatively impotent, but the Great Powers which are represented in the League, and notably Great Britain and France, got together behind locked doors and brought pressure to bear on the would-be belligerents sufficient to avert the danger of actual hostilities on a wide scale. There are two important differences, however, in the case of Manchuria. The first is that the hostilities have already taken place; Japan has seized Manchuria and the League is confronted with a *fait accompli*. In the second place, this time the Great Powers are far from being neutral. Both in England and France, there is a conspicuous sympathy with Japan. This is partly because these two countries are themselves playing the same sort of imperialistic game in other parts of the world and feel they may even want to play it once more in China; partly because they believe, correctly, that China is in a state of division and anarchy and, incorrectly, that Japan can bring peace and order in Manchuria; and partly because they are afraid of the consequences if any serious attempt were made to coerce the Japanese.

It is part of the irony of the world situation that the only real "League job" has been performed by one of the two great countries which are not members of the League: the United States. In the Stimson doctrine, America has set up a policy such as might have been expected from the League if its members believed their own lofty pretensions. The fact that they have not even associated themselves with the United States is sufficient demonstration of the hypocrisy of their protestations in favor of "a new international order." The net result is that the United States is left in the extremely dangerous position of standing alone among the Powers in a refusal to recognize the fruits of Japanese aggression in Manchuria—a position from which she will probably retreat, at least partially, during the Roosevelt administration.

If, then, the League fails not only to settle the Manchurian issue, but even to grapple with it in realistic terms, what will be the result? Will the League "be destroyed," as some of its enemies have been prophesying?

As an entity, it will almost certainly survive. The League performs a large number of useful, international functions which have nothing to do, except indirectly, with the maintenance of peace. Many of these activities were in existence long before the League; and they constitute a sufficient reason for it to go on. The League can survive even if either China or Japan, or both of them, should withdraw. Other countries have left the League, stayed out of it for years, and come back again. Some of the League's advisers believe that the best course to pursue is to permit Japan to withdraw, let her go through the internal economic collapse which now seems probable, permit her to discover that she can neither keep order in Manchuria nor obtain from that region anything which compensates for the terrific cost of the occupation, and finally bid her welcome at Geneva again when she is ready to return, chastened by experience.

But whatever its outcome—short of another world war—the Manchurian incident is most useful as puncturing the pretension that the League powers want peace, or are willing to make any sacrifices of their own interests to maintain it.

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Peace and international capitalistic imperialism are incompatible. As long as Britain, France and Italy are struggling, among themselves and with other powers, for control of foreign markets, for monopolies of foreign raw materials, for colonies and dominions, they cannot come into court with clean hands as judges of Japanese imperialism—and they not only can't, but don't intend to. There will always be war or the threat of war as long as the relation between the powers is a hostility of capitalists rather than the friendship of the common masses of the people. A vast amount of time and trouble would be saved if the world could be brought to the recognition of that fact.

Will-o'-the-Wisp McKee

ACTING Mayor Joseph V. McKee of New York City has caused a great flutter in the reform dovecotes by announcing, in effect, that he is sick and tired of the inefficiency and corruption of Tammany. At once the buzz goes round: McKee is the man to lead a reform coalition to victory in 1933. Dr. William Jay Schieffelin produces figures indicating that if you count in the ballots marked for McKee in the late election but not recorded, plus the "write-in" vote for him and that for the Republican and Socialist candidates, Tammany received less than half the city vote, and that therefore a good-government fusion has a chance. That part of the daily press which is not under Tammany's thumb is almost hysterical in its enthusiasm for McKee in 1933.

The first thing to be noted is that Mr. McKee chose a singular time to repudiate Tammany and its allied organizations in Brooklyn and the Bronx (if indeed he did repudiate these latter). The city has just gone through an election in which hundreds of thousands of persons were pathetically anxious to vote for Mr. McKee and at least 135,000 did so. Did Mr. McKee aid those voters? He did not. On the contrary, he maintained strict silence about the movement to "write in McKee" until the last moment and then said a few words intended to discourage his partisans. For decades, the government of New York City has been notoriously corrupt. Long before the Seabury investigation, every well informed newspaper man was aware of most of the facts which were brought out in the hearings—and some that weren't. During much of this time, Mr. McKee was occupying an important municipal post and must have been privy to a great deal that was going on. But what did he do during the great war? He sat tight and held his tongue. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the only reason he has broken with Tammany now (if indeed he has) is that he saw that the Hall was determined to put him on the junk heap and keep him there. Not a rush of moral indignation to the heart, but the peril to his own career, is what has opened his eyes.

As for his personal qualities, they are now fairly well known after some months in the limelight. He appears to be honest, efficient and hard-working—qualities which so differentiate him from Jimmie Walker that it is no wonder the enraptured reformers look upon him as a demigod. He seems rather deficient in imagination, but New York has had enough imagination in the City Hall to last for a long time to come. He showed a disturbing tendency toward old-fashioned Puritan repression in his attitude on theatrical censorship, but the issue rose suddenly when he had just been catapulted into office and caught him unawares. In short, he seems about as good as any one of a thousand other men who could be picked almost at random for the mayoralty.

But even if he were ten supermen rolled into one, what of it? And even if he really has broken with the machine, with all machines, and even if the Fusionists succeed in putting him in office next year, what of it? The experiment of a Good Government fusion administration has been tried over and over, in New York and scores of other American cities, and it has never worked yet. The machine always comes back, for the simple reason that the machine represents correctly the ideals of our current business civilization, and the reformist represents something about as remote and alien from that civilization as the chivalry of Don Quixote.

The reformers get tired; the machine never gets tired. The reformers are in politics in their spare time; the machine works at it expertly and does nothing else. The reformers try to decide questions on their merits; the machine has a pattern, a pattern which consists in forcing tribute from the real rulers of the community, the moneymen, in the course of the latters' legitimate or illegitimate pursuits. Lincoln Steffens twenty years ago wrote the record of futility which is McKeeism, in his magazine articles and books telling about reformers vs. crooks in one American city after another. The Goo-Goos would save themselves many tears if they would go back and read what Steffens wrote, and ponder it.

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EDITORS

BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN DEWEY WALDO FRANK ALVIN JOHNSON
E. C. LINDEMAN LEWIS MUMFORD GILBERT SELDES
R. G. TUGWELL LEO WOLMAN

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Which Way Germany?

I: The One Year Plan

WHETHER it returns to power, is reorganized or is replaced by some equally reactionary coalition, the von Papen Cabinet will have saddled Germany with an economic monstrosity, the cost of which will have to be borne by its successors for at least four years to come. The much heralded One Year Plan with which the Junker government proposed to place German's economy on a sound basis, and which was to prove the superiority of dictatorship over parliamentary regime, will have to run its course. A large part of the more than two billion marks provided for its execution is already spent and further provisions have been made to increase this large sum by money grants to insolvent municipalities and villages for public works.

This plan has been compared to the Five Year Plan of the Soviet Republic. Beyond a superficial analogy, however, the comparison is invidious. The planned economy of the Soviets represents an industry projected and executed by the state itself. The German government, at best, can place the power and the resources of the nation at the service of private capital, to give it a helping hand. Under the provisions of the von Papen plan, it becomes a friendly and encouraging banker who endeavors to place at the disposal of his client the capital necessary for the continuation and extension of his enterprises.

Germany's new industrial program centers about the abolition of unemployment. If its objective could be reached, it would relieve Germany of its most pressing problem. Hitherto the nation has failed to display any appreciable degree of confidence in the messiahship of its Chancellor and his arbitrary plan for cranking up the engine of its industries. Of the press only the organs that represent the large industries and the landed aristocracy and those newspapers—Das Berliner Tageblatt, Die Vossische Zeitung and Der Berliner Börsen Kurier—which are the recognized mouthpieces of the financial interests, showed a more or less avid interest in the new plan.

The von Papen government inherited from its predecessor a scheme for the rejuvenation of industry, based on the issuance of a loan to be forced on the propertied classes in accordance with their incomes. Von Papen and von Schleicher seemed inclined at first to adopt this Brüning heritage. Dr. Luther, president of the Reichsbank and trusted spokesman for the heavy industries, objected so vehemently that it was speedily abandoned. Instead the treasury was burdened with this responsibility. The government now presented a new plan which gave the employers of labor the machinery for a system of wage reductions to be superimposed on existing wage agreements and prevailing wage rates. Far from throwing the burden on the shoulders of capital, it now offered to manufacturers very palpable advantages, the price for which was to be paid by the working class.

What is this One Year Plan? Briefly, it consists of a subsidy to be paid to employers in the form of a tax refund, amounting to a total of 1,500,000,000 marks. In return for a portion of the taxes paid during the fiscal year 1932-33, these employers will receive tax-credit certificates, one-fifth of which will be accepted annually by the government during the years 1934-38 in lieu of cash for taxes due. These anticipation certificates bear interest at 4 percent and are discountable at the Reichsbank, thus becoming a negotiable instrument in the open market. Since these refunds will be made only on specified taxes—income and property taxes are excluded—the refund will benefit chiefly that comparatively small number of large taxpayers who turn tens of thousands into the nation's coffers annually. With the issuance of these certificates the government will have no further influence on the way in which the money is spent. In many cases it will doubtless be used to increase production. But in others it will pay debts and fulfill long-standing obligations, defeating the aim of the project.

The decree further provides an additional subsidy to all manufacturers and business men who, in the period from October 1, 1932, to September 30, 1933, shall employ, within any three consecutive months, more workers than the average for June, July and August, 1932. For this purpose 700,000,000 marks have been set aside. We shall see later that the von Papen scheme postulates the transposition of industry from the forty-eight to the forty-hour week, a step that will—a priori—necessitate the employment of additional labor on a large scale, but which might have been accomplished equally well by giving the industries of the nation not only subsidies, but obligations toward the general welfare also.

The program is based on the assumption that the world crisis has passed its lowest ebb and that business activity will henceforward automatically increase. It sees capital, which has limited manufacture to the irreducible minimum because it despaired of profitable production, once more venturing into speculative output and investing in raw materials for future production. If this hypothesis

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is correct, a return to normality might actually be produced by those who are willing to gamble on its coming. Prices would rise, depleted stocks would be replenished, increased production would furnish employment, more employment would mean greater consumption, growing consumption would bring new opportunities for production and industry would be started on the up-grade once more.

"Our plans are justified," the Chancellor stated in an official radio announcement, "by indications that confirm our conviction that the last part of the downward path of the crisis is now behind us. At such a time more ambitious measures are required than would have been conceivable earlier in the depression period. . . ." On what does the Chancellor base his optimistic evaluation of the business situation? On the bullish tendency of stock and produce exchanges, both of which were undoubtedly induced by the sudden rise of American securities? But the American stock-market boom, inflated with election ballyhoo, burst and crashed to earth, burying under its wreckage many hopes for the coming of prosperity. Industry cannot be revived by speculation. It will have to be built up on a foundation of lower prices for raw materials and cheap money for the employer who would invest more capital in his enterprises. Such has not been the case at the present time. The number of unemployed in America has decreased but little; production is falling to new lows and international commerce is still on the down-grade. The latter is as true of the United States as of Germany, where the export surplus sank from 265,000,000 marks in July of a year ago and approximately 90,000,000 marks in June of this year to 66,000,000 marks during last July.

But if facts fail to substantiate the theory of the German government, namely, that the lowest point in the crisis has been passed, German capital will not use the tax funds placed at its disposal to speed up production, invest in raw materials, fill its empty stock bins, increase its output and employ additional workers. It will apply them to its immediate needs.

The accelerated production plan of the Reich fails to take into account another indispensable prerequisite for success—the need for a greatly augmented foreign market for its surplus commodities. At the insistent demand of its Junker following, the conservative government limited food imports and decreed an increased tariff on grain, vegetables and other farm products. This decrease in imports will presently be reflected in reduced export trade, a circumstance that will add considerably to the difficulties in the way of the One Year Plan.

But the most serious aspect of the entire project is its effect on the German worker. We have already mentioned that the employers are to receive a state subsidy of 400 marks per annum for every additional employee. But over and above this direct aid from the state, they are being presented with a gift of even greater value and consequence: the right to break existing wage agreements. Under the terms of the plan the manufacturer is privileged to reduce wages in proportion to the number of men and women added to the pay roll. What von Papen proposes is a free-for-all competition in wage cutting, with large premiums out of the state treasury to all participants. In fact it says to the employing class: Enrich yourselves by cutting wages and we will guarantee you an additional profit besides!

In the factories the rehabilitation scheme is being worked out along the following lines: the forty-eight-hour week will be superseded by the forty-hour week, to take advantage of the liberal bonus for each additional worker. Consequently the pay envelope of the man on the job will be reduced by 16 2/3 percent for the eight-hour cut in employment time. Furthermore, the plan permits every employer to pay reduced wages for the last ten hours of the forty-hour week, varying from 10 to 50 percent according to the number of additional hands. Altogether it will be possible to reduce wages 29½ percent by these conditions. Plants which can prove that the prevailing wage rates endanger solvency may be permitted to make reductions of 7½ percent in excess of the general standard. All this in face of the fact that the semi-official Institut für Konjunkturforschung has just reported that the wage of the German worker has fallen 25 percent since the spring of 1930, so that, under the new wage conditions, the nominal wage of the worker will be approximately 47 percent under that of 1930. This is somewhat mitigated by a 20-percent drop in the cost of living, which still leaves the worker with a cut of 27 percent since 1930 in the already cruelly inadequate income.

Decreased wages and salaries bring about reduced purchasing power. But they are not the initial causes that break down the business cycle at the beginning of a crisis. It is erroneous to speak of sinking buying power when a crisis begins. What changes is the sum total of productivity, which is rising so rapidly that the buying power of the consumer cannot follow. It was Karl Marx who first called attention to this inherent contradiction in the capitalist system. The producer, to survive in the competitive struggle, increases his output and improves the capacity of his machinery. By modernizing labor processes he raises the output and lowers the number of men employed without, however, increasing wages in proportion to labor's increased productivity, the only method that could keep the purchasing power of the masses in step with rising commodity production. Here lies the fundamental cause of every crisis. It is this that the Papen-Schleicher scheme fails to take cognizance of. It may succeed in its attempt to speed up production. But it provides for no commensurate increase in the buying power of the nation.

For the German worker this emergency decree

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represents, over and above a year of aggravated privation, an attack on those rights and privileges that were his after decades of struggle and self-sacrifice through his mighty organizations. It empowers the government "to continue the maintenance of social services, to relieve the industrial and financial economy of the nation of its burden and to reduce the expenses of national social institutions." The fields covered by this blanket license, all of which are listed in the decree, omit no portion of the extended territory that has been included in the range of the German social-insurance legislation in the course of half a century.

When a number of industries in all parts of Germany announced that they would take advantage of this opportunity to break through labor regulations and cut wages, an ominous wave of dissatisfaction swept the country. The Executive Committee of the Allgemeine Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund, representing five million organized workers, served notice of its intention to oppose all wage reductions and to fight what it considered an adventurous and unenforceable industrial program. The government replied on October 3 by issuing another emergency decree in which unions that order strikes against the reduction of wages and hours of labor under the von Papen plan are made liable to damage suits and dissolution.

A flood of strikes was the answer. The labor-union movement recognized that the reduction of wages in plants that showed increased employment figures has set a standard that is being generally adopted everywhere, lowering the income of the German worker to where the disorganization of labor must follow. To German business, which has been bound to union regulations to a much greater degree than that of this country, this offensive against the unions opens new vistas.

The November 6 Reichstag election proved that the German people recognized the shallowness of the Plan and its essential worthlessness. It brought a negligible increase in employment, it failed to revive industry or extend exports and it ran up the deficit in the state budget to more than 1,800,000,000 marks. The next few months will reveal a financial crisis, for the last available Reichsbank report of October 29 shows a retrogression of credit grants. The promised business upturn has failed utterly to materialize and opposition to the Papen-Schleicher government became so general that the governmental crisis, which at this writing is still unsettled, was the inevitable consequence. The militarists and Junkers at the head of Germany made one mistake. They believed that industry and commerce, like armies, can be mobilized from above, that a national economy can be made to obey at the crack of the dictator's whip.

LUDWIG LORE.

II: The Fall of the Cast-Iron Chancellor

EVER SINCE von Papen was placed in power six months ago it has been a question of how soon the rising tide of opposition would swamp his dictatorship. Even before the election of November 6, when he received the support of only 10 percent of the popular votes, it had become evident that he was maintaining his power only by grace of the fragile and none too enthusiastic support of his friends. However, defections in the ranks of his supporters several months ago had already begun to threaten his dictatorship. Many of his friends had begun to accuse him of not having gone far enough. They resented the fact that he denied having violated the Constitution instead of proudly admitting having done so; that he ordered new elections instead of dispensing altogether with the Reichstag; and that he tolerated strikes, meetings of pacifist organizations and other subversive activities. The more influential of his political followers thought that he had gone too far and began to see him as an *enfant terrible*. What did they object to?

Most serious of all were the doubts of many of von Papen's political friends as to the wisdom of his anti-labor policy. Though they shared his contempt for the proletarians, they were afraid that by going too far von Papen would himself destroy the benefits they derived from his plutocratic regime. Von Papen, it will be remembered, issued decrees which granted special subsidies to employers of labor, authorized them to cut wages and forbade trade unions to oppose these wage reductions.

The official paper of the Steel Helmets, the organization of former front-line soldiers, and a staunch supporter of von Papen, complained that while he had taken government out of the realm of party politics, there was no proof that his "economic and social measures aimed exclusively at the welfare and at the maintenance and development of the community as a whole." The paper contended that the government did not distribute subsidies according to an unbiased and thoroughly worked-out general plan but as "favors and under the influence of the receiving groups representing specific interests."

At a conference of the leaders of the German Nationalists, practically the only party in the Reichstag which voted for the government, the labor authority of the party said in reference to that section of von Papen's decree which authorized the employers to cut wages established by collective agreement:

> How about the decree for the increase and maintenance of jobs? The German Nationalist Reichstag members have unanimously rejected the first section of that decree.

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> We cannot agree, even if only in the case of the employment of additional workers, to the provision for a renewed blanket reduction of wages and salaries. . . . If still more sacrifices are necessary they should be borne by each and all; they must not fall to the lot of workers and employers only. Such is our German Nationalist social conception: that those with large incomes should set the good example. . . .

It may be objected that such a statement from an ex-soldiers' organization or from a party which strives rather for the votes of the farmers than for those of industrialists is not particularly significant. But there were unmistakable signs that even big business was disconcerted by von Papen's reckless anti-labor policy, which might have led the Social Democrats to unite with the Communists. Contrary to the rank and file of the employers, the big industrialists have clearly realized the benefits which they derived from the existence of a strong Social Democratic party. Let me quote from two letters recently sent through a service sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers to a selected number of captains of industry:

> The reconsolidation of the bourgeois regime in Germany is . . . the task of the moment. The present von Papen government does not as yet imply this reconsolidation, although such is the government's claim. Tactics alone were responsible for this claim —it is a fiction necessary to the safeguarding of the government's effective functioning. . . .
>
> The general character of the problem of reconsolidating the bourgeois regime in post-war Germany lies in the fact that the bourgeois leaders, the managers of the national resources, have become too small a class to maintain their dominating power without assistance. Unless they decide to trust military force as the mainstay of their regime—a most dangerous procedure—they needs must ally themselves with classes belonging to a different social level. These classes would serve to give the indispensable democratic foundation to the governing faction, and would thus become the ultimate wielders of power. This marginal holder of bourgeois power was the Social Democrats during the first period of post-war reconsolidation. . . . Thanks to their social character as an original workers' party, the Social Democrats brought to the political constellation of that time not only their numerical political power, but a much more important and lasting contribution; they chained organized labor to the bourgeois state machinery and by doing so paralyzed the revolutionary energy of their rank and file. . .
>
> Ever since the end of the World War the one condition on which hinges the social reconsolidation of bourgeois supremacy in Germany is the splitting of the proletariat. Any firmly aligned labor movement born out of the masses is bound to be revolutionary, and against such a movement a bourgeois government cannot be maintained in the long run, even with the help of military force. . . .
>
> During the first post-war period of reconsolidating the bourgeois regime (1923-30), the breaking up of the workers' ranks was possible, thanks to the rise in wages and social progress with which the Social Democrats had stopped the tide of revolutionary energy. This progress acted like a floodgate: the employed and organized among the workers remained on a materially better level than the unemployed and the fluctuating masses of the unskilled, and their standard of living was relatively protected against the full impact of the forces of unemployment and of the general economic crisis.
>
> This same floodgate which divides the workers economically separates them politically into Social Democrats on the one side and Communists on the other, and the efforts of the Communists are wholly, and so far vainly, aimed at making a breach in the protected reserve of the trade unions. The transmutation of the social revolution into social politics practised by the Social Democrats occurred at the very moment when the center of the social struggle was shifted from the shops and the streets into the chambers of parliament, the ministries and the administrative bureaus; that is to say, the transformation of the struggle "from below" into the protection "from above" caused the Social Democratic party and the trade-union bureaucracy—which means all of their followers among the proletariat—to be bound hard and fast to the bourgeois state and to the necessity of sharing in its administration. This connection must subsist, first of all, as long as the last small remnant of these social conquests remains to be defended by democratic methods and, second, as long as the workers will follow their Social Democratic leaders.
>
> . . . The possibility of a liberal [non-fascist] social constitution of trust capitalism depends on the existence of an automatic dividing mechanism among the workers.
>
> A bourgeois regime interested in a liberal social constitution must not only be parliamentary, it must have the support of the Social Democratic party and it must leave that party a sufficient number of the improvements they have gained for the workers.

It may seem strange that the leaders of the National Association of Manufacturers, who for many years so bitterly fought the Social Democratic party and the trade unions, did not welcome von Papen's anti-labor policy. The main cause for this shift probably lay in their disappointment with the National Socialist movement. They were fascinated by the anti-Marxist aspects of this middle-class movement and had not taken seriously its anti-capitalist tendencies. But the rupture between von Papen and the National Socialists strengthened the anti-capitalist elements within the National Socialist party so that the National Socialists have fostered strikes of which the trade unions disapprove, and the industrial leaders begin to regret the good old days when their opponents were well disciplined and rather conservative unions affiliated with a sober and uninspiring Social Democratic party.

A survey of present trends, therefore, shows several reasons why von Papen's political friends will not be inclined to tolerate him much longer. But his removal does not imply the end of the dictatorial regime in Germany.

R. R. KUCZYNSKI.

Berlin.

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The Tragedy of Humphrey

And the Three-State (Tin and Chromium) Discount Company

There was a little man
And he bought a little car,
Not to ride fast,
Not to ride far;
Just to take trips in
With the wife and friends,
Or do a little gypsying
Over week-ends.
He looked at the car and it had free wheeling.

His wife said, "Humphrey,
If you don't really mind,
I'd like to have the red one,
It looks so refined.
It's such a little darling,
And my how it climbs"—
So he sat right down
And signed seven times.
A mere formality required by the Something-or-Other Discount Company.

Now he took the car home
And the times were bad,
He couldn't make collections,
And the world grew sad,
His receipts fell off
And his cheeks fell in,
And the neighbors even noticed
That the missus looked thin—
But he kept up his payments as long as he could by borrowing on his life insurance.

So, on a bright morning
He sat down to break his fast,
When his own garage opened
And a car went past.
His wife said, "Humphrey,
There's a man at the door,
And I don't know who he is
But I've seen him before,
And he says he's from the Util. Corp. and the Three-State-Discount Company."

Now the fellow at the door
Was a smiling young man,
He said, "They sent me up here
To get your tin can."
"Wait, now," said Humphrey,
"I'm a day overdue,
But I'll pay it right now
And make it out to you."
"I got to take the car," said the fellow from the Three-State Something-or-Other.

"Now look," said Humphrey,
"It's going to make talk—"
But the car went away
And they put it on the block,
And there wasn't much bidding
For second-hand tin,
For it seemed all the pocketbooks
Were wearing pretty thin,
So it sold for about half what was due on it, including costs and interest at twelve percent.

And two more men came
Without any collars,
And they said, "What you owe us now
Is five hundred dollars.
We've got to have it now,
And we've got to have it quick."
"Now look," said Humphrey,
"This is pretty thick."
"You should look at what you sign," said the men from the Three-State Duplicate Company.

First they showed their badges,
Then they took off the doors,
Then they moved out the furniture,
And pried up the floors—
Then they stood back
And surveyed what they'd done,
And they didn't like to do it,
But it was a lot of fun.
"You can't do that," said Humphrey. "Oh, yes," said the men from the Appallachian Tri-Motor Discount Company.

They took out the radio,
Piano and sink,
And all this happened
Before you could think.
Then they took the house down
And moved it into vans,
Leaving only ruins
And old tin cans.
"Dear me," said Humphrey, "I must look up that contract with the Trimotor Triplicate Company.

"Now this," said the men,
"Won't hardly be enough.
We'll have to take your wife,
And the rest of your stuff."
So they took off his clothes
And left him quite plain,
And tied the little wife on
And looked round again.
"They're going to bawl us out at the office," said the men. "This won't half cover it."

"Now look," said Humphrey,
"You can't take my wife!
You can't take her!

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I'll defend her with my life!"
"We'd better take Humphrey
And put him with his clothes,"
Said the one with the check suit
And the long nose,
"At least that's security." And they took him away, and the rumor is that Humphrey also was absorbed by the Three-State Discount Company.

So when you buy a car
You must bear this in mind—
That salesmen are pleasant
And perhaps overkind,
And cars are so shiny
And cars are so neat
That it's almost criminal
To walk on your feet,
But they've got you where they want you when you sign up with the Three-State Twelve-Percent Tri-Motor Appallachian Utility Corp. and Duplicate Commercial Banking and Merchandising Company.

MAXWELL ANDERSON.

Planning and Chain Stores

IT IS repeatedly said that the "liberals" so-called are in a constant state of confusion with respect to policies and measures, ever contradicting themselves. While the general proposition may be left to philosophers for debate, in some particulars the statement is true. Illustrations are to be found on every hand. Liberals attack the courts for "usurping" the power to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation and then in the same breath assail the courts for not striking down laws directed against freedom of opinion. They object to judicial intervention in any form and yet praise the courts for their opinions upholding statutes enacted under "progressive" auspices, apparently on the assumption that plastering the rich and powerful is a good thing whatever the rich and powerful may be doing, and that the latter must always be operating contrary to the interest of the public or retarding the advance of the ideal commonwealth.

No better illustration of this condition of mind can be found than in the chorus of approval which went up from certain liberal circles when the Supreme Court of the United States recently upheld an Indiana statute designed to hamper chain stores by taxation. It was said with much jubilation that Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts were now on the popular side and that progressive legislation may expect a better fate in the future at the hands of the Supreme Court. Yet at the very same moment the liberals were flirting with the idea of planning for business as a way out of the crisis.

Here then is the contradiction. How can anyone expect to "stabilize industry" and "plan production" without considering the methods and machinery by which goods are distributed, without providing economic institutions for obtaining from the merchant on the very frontiers of distribution the data for continuous forecasting in various lines, without guaranteeing stability and rationalization in retail management? The answer is obvious. Planned production without rationalized retailing is an impossibility.

The strange thing in the situation is that economists should have neglected the retail industry in projects for planning. Yet perhaps it is not so strange after all that this aspect of the subject should not have received adequate consideration. The interest of economists has been primarily in production, capital and profits—with side glimpses at labor—and not primarily in the consumer whom the whole business is supposed to serve. At all events, the processes by which the needs of the consumer can best be met, sound consumer wants stimulated and consumer demand accurately forecast have not yet had the scientific examination which they deserve. It is an interesting commentary on the present state of the art of planning that Soviet Russia has been constantly harassed by this problem and last year sent to the United States an expert charged with the duty of studying the selling phase of rationalization.

Now it happens that the people in this country who are actually attacking the problem of rationalization in retailing are the managers of chain-store concerns. These establishments have grown up from the ground, from simple beginnings in one store, and are deeply rooted in the realism of distribution at the final end of the process—supplying the ultimate consumer. They are making use of the principle of the conservation of energy—the performance of retail services with the least expenditure of energy. They make direct contacts with manufacturers and eliminate as far as possible the waste of middlemen and warehousing which add enormously to retail prices. They introduce the blessed word "stabilization" into the troubled retail business and, what is more important, the practice of stabilization by careful management. They avoid bankruptcy even in panics—at least so long as they keep out of the clutches of investment promoters.

On the other hand, it is notorious that retail business as historically practised in the United States has been characterized by opposite attributes on a large scale. It carries on its back a heavy load of middlemen. Its course is marked by re-

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ceiverships and dissolutions. According to a recent survey, at least 50 percent of the grocery stores established in an Eastern city failed before the end of the first year. It is so conducted in small towns that, with the improvement of roads and automobiles, the department stores of neighboring cities are pressing local one-man stores to the wall and disintegrating community life in many parts of the country.

The path of the retail industry is strewn with wrecks. A clerk saves a few dollars. He starts a store, with the aid of a landlord having a room to rent and some credit from wholesalers and the local bank. If all goes well, he may build up a successful business and become a pillar of local society. But in innumerable cases he does not do well, ends in bankruptcy in fact, and his goods are thrown upon the market at ruinous prices disrupting the normal flow of business in the town. And thousands of these unhappy retailers, with their ups and downs, keep producers in a fog as to the demand for their goods and hence with regard to planning their output.

It may be said, to be sure, that this anarchy is a good thing, that it is in keeping with the high tension of American individualism, but we cannot eat our cake and keep it. If there is to be planning or stabilization in industry, as liberals suggest, then it must have a firm basis in rationalized distribution—at the consumer's end of the line. If planning and stabilization are illusions, of course, it is proper to press for the dissolution of every industrial corporation that has risen above the level of the village smithy and for the disruption of every retail concern that owns more than one store. The futility of the first of these operations has been demonstrated over more than forty years of industrial concentration. Will our legislatures be able to destroy by taxation large-scale operations in retail business?

There is the question for "liberal" economists to consider. There is the issue at stake in the coming contest in the retail field. There is no doubt about the battle lines. The Supreme Court has upheld the Indiana law imposing a relatively small progressive tax on concerns having more than one store. At a recent session of the same legislature a bill was introduced imposing a tax rising from $5 on one store to $500 on each store above five in number—a tax that would put many chain stores out of business. A still more drastic bill has been devised in California by initiative petition and is in circulation—a bill which would make it impossible for any person or concern to have more than one or two stores in the state.

All this is being done under the guise of taxation. The purpose is not revenue but the destruction of multiple retail establishments. It is not claimed that they are monopolies to be dissolved as contrary to public policy. They are not denounced as insanitary and subject to the police power. They are declared to be enemies of the public—especially local retail merchants—and are to be destroyed by heavy taxation.

There is the issue and "liberals" who speak of planning should at least be aware of the implications involved in the conflict. If other legislation against multiple retail establishments is sustained and they are to be destroyed by law, then it should be recognized that the stabilization of industry will be rendered all the more difficult. It may be that economic anarchy is to be preferred above economic planning, but there ought to be no delusions about the tendencies of public measures bearing on the subject. In any case, the matter is too complicated for a snap judgment.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Russia Revisited

IV: *The Second Five Year Plan in the Making*

WE ARE now in the position of being able to witness in Russia the actual and formal inauguration of a national plan—the second Piatiletka. How the first actually started and was formulated, who gave the signal "Go!" and what were the guiding principles of its operation, is more or less known, but not with that exactness which can generally be predicated of contemporary events. In the work of the Second Five Year Plan we should be able to follow the progress made stage by stage and so should be in a position to appraise the relative importance of the machinery of planning and the correlation of forces behind it.

Work on the Second Five Year Plan started with a resolution passed by the Seventeenth All Russia Conference of the Communist party in January of this year. This was appropriate and significant, for it clearly indicated that the national plan is no mere abstraction but the expression of a concrete aim. Whether national planning can be imagined by any historic circumstances as the resultant of the coördination of economic forces is a matter with which I am not concerned. In the U. S. S. R., at any rate, the primacy of the will to achieve is not disputed. The task of the Plan and the art of planning consist in establishing as close harmony as is possible between this will to achieve ("general aim of the Plan") and the objective economic forces of the country. In other words, a Five Year Plan is not a scientific discovery of what *can be done*

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but an imperative declaration of what *ought to be done.*

It is not, however, necessary to suppose that this will to achieve is something arbitrary and divorced from realities. Even to will something involves a belief that the something willed is realizable; and it is quite certain that the leaders of the Communist party formulate their thesis for national achievement only after a great deal of preliminary research. A Five Year Plan is not the mere result of revolutionary intuition. Intense and elaborate calculations and most complex estimates go into its making. It is indeed probably correct to say that there is no country in the world where accounting is in greater vogue than in the Russia of today. What I am suggesting, however, is that essential as these calculations and estimates are, they aren't the determining factor in the origin or in the operation of the Plan, which is conceived and carried out with an almost fanatical belief in the efficacy of the will. It is this primacy of the will over matter which makes present-day Russia so interesting and so vigorously alive. And it is this manifestation of the supremacy of the human spirit which inclines observers to hail what is going on there as something akin to be a renaissance.

In formulating the principles of the Second Five Year Plan, the Communist leaders had, of course, the benefit of their experience with the first. But of what exactly does this experience consist?

Generally speaking it is not easy to formulate the mental processes of other persons, but in the case of the Bolsheviks, who have always been exceedingly frank in stating their aims and expectations, this need be no mere matter of speculation.

Bolshevism at present seems to be identified with a conviction that no matter how great the expansion of the economic forces of the country has been of late, they are capable of still greater expansion. And this conviction is based on the fact that for the last eight years the actual development has been, almost without exception, ahead of the estimated possibilities. There have been instances, of course, of the failure of some of the plans, but these are explained as due not to any natural causes but to a lack of what is styled Bolshevik vigilance and determination. The experience of the Bolsheviks seems to have imbued them with the belief that socialist planning can provide for an almost illimitable expansion of the country. As a result they have broken contemptuously with any idea of making the rates and proportions of past economic development serve as a criterion for the future. They ridicule the notion that the spontaneous economic laws which operate under capitalism can play any part in socialist reconstruction. And they stigmatize any attempt to impose so-called objective conditions on such reconstruction as the work of "wreckers" and "traitors." To base socialist planning on such trends and conditions is the mere negation of socialist reconstruction.

The aim of the Second Plan, as officially formulated at the Seventeenth Conference of the party, is "the completion of the reconstruction of the whole national economy," a program which, defined in this way, might seem to involve a simple development of the economic forces already released. Nevertheless, the whole spirit of the resolution passed at the Conference as a basis for the second Piatiletka is permeated by an inflexible determination to force the pace. The Communist leaders are not satisfied with a mere insistence on maximum development. They recommend, that is to say they command, a level of achievement not obviously based on experience but on their own inordinate will to achieve. A few examples will enable readers to realize both the grandiose scale of the recommendations and their strictly imperative character.

The Conference deems it necessary: (1) to enlarge production of machines by the end of the Second Five Year Plan to at least three and a half times the 1932 production; (2) to generate in 1937 at least 100 billion kilowatts of electricity, as compared with 17 billion in 1932; (3) to mine at least 250 million tons of coal as compared with 90 million in 1932; (4) to increase the output of oil from two and a half to three times; (5) to produce at least 22 million tons of pig iron in 1937 as compared with 9 million in 1932.

These "directives" (as they are called) I have not chosen deliberately; they are simply the first five on the list. In fact they differ in no essential respect from the others calling for similar expansion in the production of non-ferrous metals, chemicals and automobiles, in the extension of railways, river and sea navigation, and in the development of highways, roads and of all forms of communication, especially radio.

Were I to represent the working out of the Plan in terms of the performance of a symphony by an orchestra, and there is a great temptation so to represent it, I should call these "directives" of the Communist Conference the *basic melody.* The "directives" are addressed to the country; and all the institutions of the country will at some time or other be included in the orchestration of the melody, with the State Planning Commission in the role of conductor.

The initial task of the Commission is to attempt to arrive at the first rough coördination of the various sections of the Plan. This is achieved by a system of so-called balances. The Plan is at bottom a balance between production and distribution and exchange, and it is achieved by a chain of material balances between the production and consumption of fuel, energy, building materials, food stuffs and raw materials. Then there must be a balance between exports and imports, a balance between revenue and expenditure, between the demand and supply of labor.

But before any attempt can be made to strike even the first draft balance, the all-important ques-

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tion of establishing the relations between accumulation and consumption has to be settled. The whole balance of the Plan, as well as every separate item of it, depends on the proportions thus established. The fact that such an establishment is attempted in advance and for a period of years is, in my view, the most peculiar characteristic of socialist planning. In capitalist economics the establishment of a proportion between accumulation and consumption has never been and never could be attempted. It is settled by the objective trend of development. The fact that in the U. S. S. R. planning begins with an attempt to settle in advance the proportions of the national income to be devoted to capital investments and to be consumed, marks indeed the exact point of departure of socialism from capitalism.

The directives of the Communist Conference do not define these proportions explicitly. And this is the only vital element in the composition of the Plan which has not been made public. This, of course, does not mean that it has not been considered or that the question of the proportion between accumulation and consumption is left to be settled by chance. The mere fact that the directives lay special stress on the necessity of doubling or even trebling consumption during the next five years seems to furnish implicit proof that this proportion has been settled very definitely. Moreover, the whole trend of policy and the spirit of the time testify to the paramount need of raising the present standard of living in the U. S. S. R. One of the deepest impressions a visitor carries away from Russia in 1932 is that a general amelioration of the conditions of life, good food, good clothes and good housing, is being insisted on, not as something expected tomorrow, but as something realizable today. It may be safely declared that the Second Five Year Plan will differ considerably from the first in the attempt it makes to satisfy this insistence, and that in the next five years less of the national income will be devoted to investments and more to consumption.

Yet, while this appears to be an assumption fairly well warranted, the fact remains that the actual proportions of these vital elements of the Plan have not been divulged. This, I take it, has to be defined as the *hidden melody* of the symphony of planning.

A concentration on light industries and an attempt to raise the standard of living could normally be achieved only to the detriment of the heavy industries, just as the previous concentration on heavy industries was made at the expense of the light ones. Yet, as has been seen, the directives of the Communist Conference provide for an increasing rate of development in the heavy industries. This program of a simultaneous expansion of light and heavy industries seems at first a paradox until one remembers the fact that the heavy industries were greatly overcapitalized under the provisions of the First Plan. The investments made in them during the last four years were not only enormous but they were not immediately productive, for the factories and plant which have absorbed this capital are either not completed or are only partially so. The full return from them is yet to come. On the other hand, it is claimed that the future development of these industries will be much cheaper than it has been, since it will be based mainly on domestic production. In this way the main stream of investment is to be directed to the light industries without, however, hampering the progress of the heavy ones.

The question of the proportion between capital investments and consumption is the pivotal question of any plan of reconstruction. And since it is obvious that in the Second Plan this proportion will differ greatly from what it was in the first, one must regard the second Piatiletka not as a mere replica of the first but as marking a definitely new advance in socialist development.

But the Second Plan is not only a new departure in respect of the division of the national income. The technical revolution in agriculture and the great extension within the last few years of the socialist section of Soviet economy are bound to change the character and the scope of planning. It is one thing to plan for the indirect regulation of economic activities which are partly individualist; it is quite another thing to plan for the direct control of such activities when they are socialized and state administered. Yet the most profound difference between the First and Second Five Year Plan can be seen in the method and procedure adopted.

The First Plan was the work of the State Planning Commission in collaboration with the planning organs of the federated republics and the various departments (commissariats of the Union). In other words, it was the work of experts imposed on the workers who were called upon to execute it. Later, in the course of its operation, the Bolsheviks discovered, so they said, that the shortcomings and setbacks in the execution of the Plan were due to the failure to arouse the personal interest of the millions of workers engaged, and that such success as was achieved was not due so much to the accuracy of the estimates of the Plan as to the enthusiasm of the workers who identified themselves with it. It was this enthusiasm, this zeal for working to full capacity, as illustrated by the so-called shock methods and socialist emulation, which is hailed as the cornerstone and guarantee of the ultimate success of reconstruction. During the last two years it has even led to a revision of the schedules of the Plan by the workers, called "counter-plan." That is to say, a mass meeting of workers in a factory would be held at which a planning committee would be appointed to discuss the official estimates with the directors of the factory in respect to output. The revised estimates thus obtained, if approved at the mass meeting, would then constitute the workers' counter-plan, which almost invariably

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is in advance of what was demanded by the Plan.

The new method of planning consists in adopting the counter-plan from the very start. That is to say, the mass of workers were now called upon to collaborate in the making as well as in the execution of the Plan. The first element in the art of planning is therefore to imbue the country with the feeling that the Plan is not imposed upon it but is the expression of the will and determination of the mass of workers. The question of how far this collaboration of the masses with the State Planning Commission is genuine or fictitious then arises and cannot be shirked. This is not easy to answer. It is too early to decide whether a revision of government plans by factory workers has greater or less value than a democratic vote. I can only say that at present this collaboration is taken seriously by both the government and the workers, and that it is difficult to point out any other means of working out so onerous an operation.

The stage at which the whole of the country is invited to furnish schedules for concrete work is called "letting down the Plan." This descent of the Plan is a long and complicated business proceeding on three parallel lines and involving the participation of the entire industrial, cultural and scientific institutions of the country. The plan is submitted by the Gosplan (the State Planning Commission) to the planning commissions of each federal republic or autonomous region. It is dispatched to such Union Commissariats as those of heavy industry, light industry, transport, forestry and finance, and then sent further down to syndicates, trusts, factories and workshops. And it is presented to the Academy of Science and to the two-hundred-odd research bodies in the country.

The result is a perfect flood of conferences. In the first place, there are republican and regional conferences which advocate federal needs. There are inter-commissariat conferences which coördinate production and distribution and settle import and export plans as well as problems of finance. There is a permanent consultation of the Gosplan experts with local experts all over the country. And there are conferences called by the Academy of Science and the research institutions, not to speak of the thousands of factory and workshop conferences of the workers. The range of the conferences is so comprehensive as to be staggering, extending as it does from a study of the resources and navigation of the White Sea region to a discussion of new fertilizers and some new ferro-alloys.

The work of coördination of this enormous mass of information will be the more difficult, since it will obviously involve the reconciliation of contrary and often contradictory interests. The governments of the Federated Republics will naturally do their best to stress the claims of their own territories. They will be interested in the geographical distribution of the new foundries and will examine the drafts of the Gosplan with a view to proving that their own territories can best produce the ore. But any chance of particularism's being successful is now being guarded against by the growing tendency to base the distribution of the new factories on economic rather than on regional considerations. I refer to the so-called system of "economic complexes," which has for its object the binding-up of interdependent factories and the grouping of them round centers of energy, such as water-power stations and coal and peat mines. The idea is to save such energy and to use the by-products of one industry as the raw material for another.

The descent of the Second Plan was scheduled to finish at midsummer, when the counter-plans would be pouring into the Gosplan in thousands. When I was in Moscow, knowing something of the slackness of Russian correspondence, I ventured to express some doubt as to whether these reports would not be delayed until too late. But I was informed that the directors were quite certain that over 90 percent of the replies would be received in time. The making of the Plan is too public and too absorbing to permit of the usual neglect of letters.

The work from this point will be to synthesize the material balances, the export and import plan and the general finance plan.

When in December the second Piatiletka is ratified by the Union Congress of Soviets, it will be claimed as the first national plan to be created by the collective will of the whole nation.

MICHAEL FARBMAN.

This concludes Mr. Farbman's series of four articles on present-day Russia.—THE EDITORS.

Ecce Puer

Of the dark past
A child is born.
With joy and grief
My heart is torn.

Calm in his cradle
The living lies.
May love and mercy
Unclose his eyes!

Young life is breathed
On the glass;
The world that was not
Comes to pass.

A child is sleeping:
An old man gone.
O, father forsaken,
Forgive your son!

JAMES JOYCE.

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Washington Notes

A Stein on Every Table—Hoover in Defeat—Smoking Out the Democrats—The Caucus Alibi—Dropping the Engineer

IT IS typical of the country, I think, that the political world should be in a far greater turmoil over beer than over anything else. By the time this piece appears, the war-debt conference between the incoming and outgoing Presidents will probably have been held. The press of the world has for more than a week been filled with speculation as to the attitude of Mr. Roosevelt on this issue, and beyond question it is of worldwide importance. Yet what the minor factors in both parties are concerned with is beer. I hear practically no discussion of the relief problem, which will be more pressing this winter than before, little talk of a new tax bill, which is inevitable, and almost nothing of the Democratic plans for the return of happy days so winsomely promised by the successful candidate in the campaign.

So far as one can judge, the general idea is that the happy days will return with beer. Perhaps the political gentlemen here assembled for the opening of the short session of Congress are right, but it is rather depressing to think so, even though one may favor the eradication from the Constitution of the last vestige of national prohibition. The beer fight in the coming session is to be the real fight, and so violently determined are its advocates in both parties that all difficulties which may arise before March 4 are minimized or disregarded. Personally, I think it unlikely that the bill, even with the revenue argument stressed, will go through in the short session, but it may. And if it does it may or may not be signed. Mr. Hoover doesn't want to sign it; but it is possible that the need for revenue may force him to accept it.

As for Mr. Hoover, the effect on him of his defeat is one of the most interesting and curious results of the election. That he was a deeply disappointed man and that he had in that last week of the campaign a very real hope of success can be set down as certain. Instead, however, of being crushed by the landslide, it is a more buoyant and more belligerent Hoover who returned to Washington last week than the one who left here three weeks ago. The difficulty some of his advisers are having with him at the moment is to get him to recognize that an election was held. Apparently Hoover's plan is to function as the American leader right up to the moment he leaves the White House. The idea of inviting Roosevelt to the debt conference did not, I am told, originate with him, but with the astute and able Mr. Mills who, by telephone, was able to make his defeated Chief realize that it would be inadvisable to go ahead as if there had been no new President elected by an overwhelming vote.

So far as Hoover's other problems are concerned, it is his intention during the short session to proceed with his own program exactly as he would have done if he had been reëlected. This Hooverian policy will be made plain, I think, in his message to Congress, which he is now preparing. In brief, his plan is to go out of office fighting for the things in which he believed, reiterating the beliefs he expressed during the campaign and denouncing the same things he then denounced.

It is an interesting attitude and promises some fun during the session. With a Congress hostile in both branches he will, of course, be unable to accomplish much. Nevertheless, there is an opportunity to force Democratic leaders into the open on a variety of ticklish subjects and to arouse considerable public sentiment which it will not be politic for the new administration to disregard. For example, it is expected that Hoover will recommend the paring down of the veteran-compensation load by from three to four hundred million dollars, a proposal which both he and Governor Roosevelt completely ignored during their fight, but which it has been repeatedly and clearly pointed out can be done without injustice to a single deserving veteran.

That the Democratic House will follow his lead in this direction now is extremely unlikely. With Mr. Garner still in the Speaker's chair, the tendency will be to repeat the performance of last session, when the House cravenly ducked the proposed cut in veteran compensation and threw Hoover's recommendations into the wastebasket. If the cut is to be made, the Democrats will prefer to make it under their own President in order to get the credit for the reduction. How else is he to make good on that specific platform pledge of a 25-percent cut in the running expenses of the government? Congress will not, I am convinced, do it for Hoover in the short session, and I have grave doubts of its doing it for Roosevelt. The only way it can be done in any case is by the method so studiously avoided last time—to wit, the party caucus.

In the caucus the individual Congressman can afford to vote according to his convictions without fear, because the vote and the proceedings are secret and he cannot be used as a target by the organized minority. He can say to the veterans of his district that he did his best for them but that he was overruled in the caucus and had to "go along" with the party majority or bolt. The caucus is the finest possible alibi for the individual Congressman who is afraid of what may happen to him on a tax or an economy vote. That it will be used by the Democrats as soon as the Seventy-third Congress convenes is, I think, certain, but that they will not caucus in the interests of the economy plan proposed by the defeated and still despised Mr. Hoover is equally certain.

They will—these House Democrats—look to President-elect Roosevelt for guidance during the short session, and Mr. Roosevelt is not of the type to further the economy program of his former rival. He probably will have to advocate exactly the same things when he does take hold, but he will want to do it himself. This is natural, though not noble. At any rate there will be sufficient jealous antagonism among both Senate and House Democrats to block anything in the way of a Hoover success before March 4.

But those who have talked with him say that this will make no difference to the "Fighting Quaker." Imbued with belief in his own righteousness and wisdom, he is convinced that his duty is to give to the American people the "best that is in me" right up to the moment of his departure. There is about the man a dogged persistence that nothing seems to dilute. Lacking all the human and

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magnetic qualities of a political leader, and full of exasperating frailties and faults, he yet has certain things in the way of character which now, in the hour of his humiliation and defeat, rather compel admiration.

There has been no one quite like him in the White House before and probably will not be again. That his political career is completely ended is agreed by his most intimate and ardent friends. By no conceivable turn of the wheel, it is held, could he be nominated in 1936. It is not in the cards for him to make the sort of comeback that was staged by Cleveland. He has been too wholeheartedly rejected and too completely identified with the deepest of all depressions to be resurrected as a standard bearer four years hence. However, I think it will be a mistake to consider Mr. Hoover as without political influence or devoid of a personal following after he leaves Washington.

Washington. T. R. B.

Dear Jane

Dear Jane, by Eleanor Holmes Hinkley. Civic Repertory Theatre, November 13, 1932.

THE PLAY about Jane Austen, at the Civic Repertory Theatre, is a good instance of repertory's excellence and its fitness in the drama's scheme. You could imagine this comedy on Broadway only if it were under the compulsion of some great stage idol, like Maude Adams in her time. Even Miss Adams' personal quality was much bolstered with stage intuition and shrewdness, deft and well tried tricks and a keen sense of how matters are going with the audience, as bit by bit the moments and passages ensue and catch the right response. Miss Adams was one of those rare actors in the more serious plays who along with diverse virtues have that more likely to be found in vaudeville entertainers: sharp experience with vaudeville audiences teaches that you sink or you swim (as flat as that). But in a repertory theatre or a stock company "Dear Jane," though a little slow at times, may be a wise choice. From good modern realism it is a pleasant variation, and from the usual run of plays a welcome rest. Both these advantages for the audience extend also to the company; they get a chance for practice in another style.

"Dear Jane" is not a chronicle play, the whole life, episodically told, of the novelist. It takes, rather, the final moment of the interlude in Jane's life when she must choose between marriage and her pen, or perhaps her free mind, eye and humor. We see her in the midst of her family, comfortably a clergyman's household: the news of a former suitor's marriage comes; we hear that Jane is something of a flirt; a ball will be given; the hunting squire, the Irish suitor and the impending baronet from Evelyn Park, Marlborough Downs, are Jane's present possibilities. At the ball she has the first two at her feet, followed by her old suitor's arrival with his new rich wife; and finally the baronet also arrives, and, unpresented properly, presents himself. Jane, free-minded indeed, accepts the presentation, upon which the theme of love begins. There are complications from the jealous bride; but the last scene is in the west wing of Evelyn Park, where the Stuart prince has slept and from which he escaped to fair waiting arms at the park gate—poor lady! or so she seems to Jane. In the best Jane Austen-Darcy-melancholy-proud-young-lord tradition Sir John lays all at those half-mocking little feet. She knows, notwithstanding, that she must confess her novels. The baronet's surprise carries forgiveness also. The forgiveness of the scene she quotes from her novel, however, rests on the fact that he has watched her lips in adoration and heard nothing they have uttered. He retires for the night, leaving Jane and her sister Cassandra; the climax arrives, Cassandra agrees that Jane is right, and out of the door they steal and into the future, as the romantic prince had done. The little pattern of the play is thus turned neatly enough. Before the story begins at all, there has been a prologue, at the Cheshire Cheese, December 16, 1775, twenty-three years ago; Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, James Boswell, David Garrick, with Dr. Johnson declaring that women can never be creative artists.

If "Dear Jane" is not a masterpiece, neither are most plays or most works in any art for that matter. In our theatre just now we make a mistake in raising such a hue and cry for greatness whenever a play departs from the general run of style and matter. This is one of the things that prevents extension and experiment in our playwriting. If you want to do something out of the daily run you must take your punishment; only greatness, if present and if—if—detected, can save you. But when it comes to a play in the usual run the case is different: its virtues are special to it, its vices such as belong to its class, as one might say on the tombstone of a pious prostitute.

In her settings for the play Miss Aline Bernstein has done the happiest work that I have seen from her in a long time. Her statement of that paneled epoch, provincial and in this case *genre,* is not only charming but right to the scale and the faint, whimsical fragrance of the play in its best moments. Miss Le Gallienne's company, compared with, say, three seasons ago, seems to me to have moved up to a fairer level. One or two of the leading men actors show more interest in dramatic rather than personal projection than once they did. The players with small parts, the supers especially, are now among the best in town. The chief thing they need now is a trifle more condescension toward make-up. Half a dozen young men with that air of sunfast skin and hirsute nature can throw out the whole atmosphere for the actors around them—in all art one style at a time.

The prologue might both be a good piece of genre and underscore the points about women in creative art that the play answers later on. It comes to little, partly because Mr. Harold de Silva needs to use more diaphragm and open his vowels, and partly because the actors do not know how to listen to each other; in fact they hardly seem to listen even to themselves.

Miss Eva Le Gallienne, as the understanding sister, already out of the marriage arena, gave exactly the right support to the leading part in the play, which Miss Josephine Hutchinson carried off with no little success. You could at least say that no other young actress in town could do it any better. A great deal of the wit and roguery and genuine feeling in the character was created, and a certain sort of impish spirits and freshness, without any sense of coldness or sterility of emotion. Nor was there any stupid implication of moral purpose, that all-for-art

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business which would so have astonished Miss Austen and set going that half-shy, half-arrant caustic that could tip her pen. On the contrary it is, however, true that Miss Hutchinson should go over the entire role with an eye to stressing the spots provided by the dramatist where the born observer, the laughing, easy, sharp and serene and often loving recorder comes to the fore. Miss Hutchinson is right in not making it a high moral purpose; it is something more final and elusive in Jane Austen that keeps those scenes from her books popping into her mind at the most ardent male moments in her life, and that kept her at it for those twenty years her manuscripts lay in her desk, till the day a publisher ventured upon them and brought to light what must, I should think, be the most even and perfect and strangely undying of all English novels.

At the very end of the second act—leading straight up to the third, and last, act—Sir John, in the Pump Room, Bath, urges his highly decorous and impassioned suit; Jane is carried away with the romance, the compliment, the moonlight, stars or whatever it is; her whole being, as they say, vibrates; the concert is about to begin, he leaves her for a moment, with her rapture; the rapture is confessed as she stands there alone—how she loves him! And then, suddenly, she catches herself—"Or do I?" That turn in the argument, that question, so capital and witty in the play itself, is one of the keys to both character and story. If, instead of joining her lover, which Jane does now, and sitting with him for the concert and curtain, she were left standing there with her question, as that unfolding loveliness of the music begins, we should have a much more pointed motif. To that end the dramatist might relent and thereby enforce the main theme. Meantime Miss Hutchinson needs to watch for whatever reveals, or at least prophesies, the lady who not alone could paint with so much unruffled charm her people and their world; she could also observe that most men demand total imbecility in women, but there are a few more enlightened members of the sex who are willing to put up with mere ignorance.

Technically Miss Hutchinson needs to work for a better placing of her voice; at present the line of it just above the middle is monotonous and disturbs the dramatic accuracy of her dialogue. She shares also with Miss Le Gallienne a bad mannerism of laughing now and again and again in almost any passage of a scene. Laughing sisters, girlish gayety and so on are well enough; but it must be studied and varied, or else you get only an effect that is like keeping something in your hands because you have not thought out anything to do with them. As a matter of fact, both the players appear to laugh exactly the same laugh; which might, if you chose, be taken for a sort of Austen family laugh perhaps, were it not for the fact that Miss Le Gallienne does the same thing in her Camille. And, besides, a great deal of Jane's laughter is rather a smile, hidden within her, rippling outward toward antitheses or the calm of some perfect point.

Mr. Joseph Schildkraut gave a fair, if not witty, version of the hero Miss Austen figured out to her taste in Darcy, the proud-and-melancholy-gentleman theme that Byron was to bring to a climax that fascinated Europe until the mounting decades took the wind out of it (more or less). Miss Beatrice Terry's Mrs. Austen was as well done as could be asked anywhere, very charming, a sort of Chardin and Hogarth. She was the only lady in the whole play that took her lines entirely bona fide, as should be done. The lines of "Dear Jane" are adequate to their period, and the extent to which the player can seem to say "how quaint!" is a very delicate matter. Since the artist's comment is a necessary element in any art, and since the actors here involved are modern, it follows that we must see Miss Austen's epoch through these actors' eyes; it follows, also, however, that we see the actors through that epoch's eyes—a combination of facts that should put the fear of God in them.

You might truly assert, in fact, that if all such occasions as "Dear Jane" were to be judged by a hard-boiled professional, the one point at which they would be at most disadvantage would be any traces of the quaint, the arch, the-dear-perfume consciousness among the performers. Such a judgment can be justified, though in the case of "Dear Jane" the excuse for it has been avoided to an unusual degree. The whole approach is fresh and sincere, the evening, for the right person and right mood, most agreeable.

STARK YOUNG.

The Maurer "Little Girl"

ALFRED MAURER, the New York painter who committed suicide last summer after undergoing an operation notorious for its tendency to provoke melancholia, played the historic role of the first American artist to go *fauve*.[1] His "wild," revolutionary showing at 291 Fifth Avenue in 1908 fell like a meteorite into the local world of artists and patrons. Until its hour, these new decorative color constructions strongly influenced by Persian and African art had appeared to American circles the mere vain and temporary aberration of certain Parisian studios; and bare of reason and incapable of naturalization. But Maurer, a resident of Paris in the later 1900's, had found his own Whistlerian fogs and velleities and impressionistic dottings dismal in comparison with the clear joyous colors and large units and areas of the "savages" of the Salon d'Automne; and his old conception of the formal possibilities of his medium weak beside their daring and non-imitative one. And he promptly, boldly, changed the style of his art.

This somersault of Maurer's could not be taken as the act of an adventurer. The young expatriate was plainly a determined painter and knew his craft. A product of the "Group of Eight" headed by Henri, Luks, Glackens and Sloan, he was the intimate friend of several of its leaders; and he had won the first Pittsburgh Carnegie prize in 1898. Thus, his very brilliant show brusquely threw into the local situation an impressive and disruptive testimonial to the fact that the new art was of serious moment and great relevancy, and that a veritable revolution was progressing.

Yet in the course of time, the member of the Maurer family to become celebrated was not Alfred, but his father, Louis Maurer. What became the rage in America was not

[1] "Wild": the primarily derisive, subsequently cant, qualification of the styles of Matisse, Bracque, Van Dongen, Vlaminck, Dufuy, Friesz and other painters during the period of their revolt against post-impressionism and its impoverished esthetic.

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modern art, but Currier and Ives prints; and Louis Maurer was one of the chief Currier and Ives printmakers. Many of the New York fire pieces and racing prints were his work. Besides, he grew to be a hundred years old and remained vigorous to the end; and this pleased people quite as much as his prints did. Alfred Maurer the artist, however, found no public.

There would be no point in claiming that in Alfred Maurer the world had passed a great painter by. One cannot, with the best will, see him as an original force. His main achievement appears to have been the non-realistic, "abstract" expression of a certain feminine type quite as individual as the kindred types of Modigliani, Pascin and Laurencin. This is the type of the adolescent girl of the brownstone parlors, the dreary apartments and mean backyards of our vast rookeries: pallid little sprout half-faded before maturity; with her locks painfully arranged in imitation of Judith Anderson or some film celebrity's; in instances touched with an appealing grace, poetry, innocence; in others transfixed, impossible and gawky with the small ideas and large terrors of gentility. Maurer arrived at the type of these sometimes charming, sometimes comic and sometimes pathetic young things with an accuracy which may eventually invest him with the dignity of its creator and make his name the symbol of its constituents; and found in this feminine mold the means for the communication of his own peculiar feelings.

There are Maurer "little girls" who droop like bell-flowers and convey a sense of frail loveliness. There are others full of the humor connected with a disproportionate grandiosity. Some of his heads are all wilting stares. Others rear like fists, implying the fist's defiance, or stand outlined with a harsh emphasis resembling that of curses. Still others indicate discouragement, inadequacy, despair. All are the conceptions of an artist: rhythmical, decorative, subtle and warm of color; expressed through shape and line and bold patterns of pigment. Yet by and large, it is impossible to perceive in them the expressions of a direct relationship to things, an independence, a self-sufficiency and power vis-a-vis them as a whole; and rather more the projection of the eternal small boy's feelings of his own dependency, inadequacy, subjection to foreign pressure in the form of a defiant nonchalance, with "a fig for care, and a fig for woe" and a fig for a great deal besides.

This spirit of organic dependency so characteristic of the minor artist, no matter how natural his gift, in Maurer's case reaches us by reason of his persistent choice of slightly subnormal subjects; the continual recurrence to the type of the adolescent girl, charming or grotesque, suggesting the absence of a certain mature freedom of feeling and capacity for intense relationships. Yet it is possible that we might not read this spirit from the face of Maurer's "little girl," had his handling of his representative means, oil and *guache,* been somewhat more frequently aspirational and fired by a deep sense of the identity and the dignity of his sitters. The type of the young girl of the mediocre quarters is not a vehicle necessarily prohibitive of the expression of strong feelings of life; and it is unfortunate that Maurer's approach to his medium, for all its brightness, gayety and lightness, for all the richness of his color sense and the effectiveness of his design, was not generally a strenuously exerted one. There were repeated exceptions to this rule, of course. Some of his figure-pieces, particularly the later ones, are powerful, intrinsically interesting forms; and one half-length auto-portrait, exhibited four or five years since at the Weyhe Gallery, and expressive of the artist's peculiar humor and grotesquerie, possesses extraordinary, masterly distinction. But too many of his paintings, particularly his still-lifes and flower-pieces, are deficiently responsive to his individual problems, representing the paintings of Matisse, Derain, or some other French contemporary somewhat more fully than the object present to Maurer himself. And too many of his more ambitious and personal expressions want an ultimately satisfactory intricacy.

Even at that, he was a much neglected artist, thrust aside by, and for the sake of, workers far less serious, significant and delightful than himself. Persons as determinately painters as Maurer was, come far less frequently into the world than we are sometimes led to suppose they do. Perhaps nothing more fully exhibits the humbug of the American's "interest in art" than the undeserved harshness of his fate, and the fact that his country could appreciate the upright old father without caring for the equally esthetically upright son. But possibly Alfred Maurer should have lived to be a hundred years old, too. Then, he might have seen his old paintings finally become absorbing for the reason that they permitted people to retire into a simpler state of mind than the one required by their present circumstances. And who knows whether that good and valid reason will not finally find them a celebrity equal to that of Currier and Ives prints: then, when some future Alfred Maurer will be sitting in his Lincoln Arcade attic wondering what is the matter with him and his work, since no one seems to care for either? PAUL ROSENFELD.

CORRESPONDENCE

We Hereby Weep, Wail and Get Excited

SIR: It's maddening and exasperating and dreadful beyond words that a paper like The New Republic should be so calm and phlegmatic about an election like the last one. It means the triumph in American life of everything that decent people despise and fight against. I don't know which fact has more significance, the landslide of a tenth-rate politician like Roosevelt or the tragic defeat and disappointment of Norman Thomas. This is something for liberals to weep and wail about and get excited. What do you want ordinary nincompoops and dumbbells to do and think, if a liberal paper is so calmly satisfied, well maybe not satisfied, but it doesn't lose any sleep over appalling trends and growths in the sociological scheme of things.

New York City. A READER.

The Science of Campaign Surveying

SIR: In "Washington Notes," in your issue of November 2, your correspondent, T. R. B., writes of his suspicion "that the sole source from which these Washington newspaper men [who conduct campaign surveys] obtain their information and upon which they base their articles is the local newspaper men." He adds his doubt that anyone, "no matter how well trained and regardless of how long he has been observing," can "spend one day in a big state and obtain any information of real value about its politics in a campaign not so one-sided as to be uninteresting."

Particularly on T. R. B.'s premise, his doubt is reasonable. I have often doubted it myself—the author of many of these reports—but I should reject my own conclusions utterly if, when visiting a state, I talked only with the political reporters. My system has

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been this, and I followed it this year in more than twenty states: In advance I have made appointments with a small group of politicians, political writers and business men who are generally conceded in the state to be the best informed persons on the subject and the best political guessers. After long, private interviews with these—usually candid on the assurance that they will neither be quoted nor identified—I have felt, justly, I think, that I have the composite view of those in long and daily touch with the situation. If I had spent a month instead of a day or two in the state I could not have, by personal inquiry among general persons, learned so much as in a few hours from these men.

Even so, the best that can be given is a snapshot of the situation, as accurate as a snapshot can be. But it does not seem to me that this is false, pretentious or unskillful reporting, though it is done quickly. The prospector who knows where to sink his pick will at once find the gold which another may seek vainly for a year. It is a matter of planning and craftsmanship. I don't think much of the results, but usually these are painstakingly acquired from such authorities as there are in these opaque matters, and not in the manner T. R. B. suggests.

New York Times, New York City. ARTHUR KROCK.

Mexico and the Catholic Church

SIR: In the November 9 issue of The New Republic you published an editorial entitled "Mexico and the Catholic Church." This question is discussed in such a fashion that it warrants a strong protest from the representative of the Mexican government in this city.

It is almost unbelievable that a publication of the type of The New Republic should side with the hierarchy against the government of Mexico in the action that this government was obliged to take as an aftermath to the Pope's Encyclical on Mexico.

It is more surprising still to see how violently the Mexican government is attacked by the writer. The attack is so impassioned that it makes one doubt if my government in taking such action had actually struck at the very principles for which The New Republic stands. This, I assume, is not the case, and for this reason the attitude taken by the editorialist is all the more puzzling.

Even the Catholic press has not gone so far in defending its point of view on this subject. Its language, at least, has not been so violent and insulting as that used in The New Republic's editorial to which I refer. The rest of the press has not even considered the question important enough to discuss it editorially.

In writing this letter, I do not wish to enter into any controversy, as my sole object is to protest strongly against the uncalled-for abuse to which the government of my country has been subjected in the editorial.

The writer states, among other insulting remarks, that: "government in Mexico today is organized for plunder." It may be that the editorialist understands by "plunder" the spending of public funds: in establishing thousands of schools; in an intensive campaign against illiteracy; in the vast agrarian program to distribute small parcels of land among hundreds of thousands of peons, who have always tilled it under conditions approaching slavery; in building great irrigation works to increase the agricultural area of the country; in building thousands of miles of good roads all over the republic; in taking steps to protect the workers from exploitation; in improving the standard of living of the Mexican people as a whole; in waging a battle against fanaticism and all its evils; and in increasing its industries, reducing unemployment and balancing its budget, at a time of economic depression when most of the other countries of the world have not been able to do so much.

If in the writer's estimation all these things mean "plunder," then I would confess that my protest is unwarranted. Otherwise, I want it to be a matter of record and I wish to appeal to the sense of fairness of the editor-in-chief of The New Republic, requesting that this brief statement be published, since the readers of your publication are entitled to know that the false statements against my government have not gone unchallenged.

ENRIQUE D. RUIZ,
New York City. Consul General of Mexico.

There's a League for Municipal Socialism Already

SIR: When I read the appeal of Alvin Johnson in your issue of November 16 for a League for Municipal Socialism in New York City, I felt like a soldier who has just returned to his home town from service in the front-line trenches, and is slapped on the back by a hearty, patriotic friend with the saluation: "Boy, why don't you get into the war?"

Every one of the major points which Alvin Johnson suggests in his program has been a part of the program of the City Affairs Committee since it was launched two years ago. We have stood for municipal housing, the public ownership and operation of buses, the public operation of a unified transit system, a public monopoly for workmen's compensation insurance and all the other measures which would bring private monopolies into the category of public service.

It is true that the City Affairs Committee is not a Socialist organization. It is a nonpartisan organization, which is pledged to endorse no candidates at the polls. It includes in its program many measures upon which both Socialists and non-Socialists can unite, such as proportional representation, governmental efficiency and the reduction of high salaries of political favorites. . . .

We have united with other civic organizations in forming the Public Housing Conference, whose chairman is Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, and this organization in turn has had enabling legislation introduced at Albany to permit the setting up of a Municipal Housing Department. Almost two years ago the City Affairs Committee made a thorough study of housing costs for the low-income workers of New York City, and the results of our study were published in pamphlets and in all the leading newspapers. During the last year we have entered the field of public utilities and fought before the Public Service Commission for lower electric rates and lower telephone rates.

I think it would be a pity for Mr. Johnson to attempt to float a new organization in New York City. Organizations already exist which are fighting valiantly for everything that he stands for. I hope that those who read his letter and were genuinely interested in applying his principles to New York City will join both the Socialist party and the City Affairs Committee, but if they are unwilling to align themselves with any party, they should at least join the City Affairs Committee in its constructive work. There is already too much duplication in the field of progressive organizations. In the name of John Haynes Holmes, Chairman; John Dewey, Francis J. McConnell, Norman Thomas and Stephen S. Wise, Vice-Chairmen, I, as Executive Director of the City Affairs Committee, invite Mr. Johnson to join our Committee for two dollars a year. If he wants to pay more, we will be delighted.

New York City. PAUL BLANSHARD.

Starving Miners in Ohio

SIR: Down here in the mining fields of southeastern Ohio there is such intense want that I am compelled to appeal to the readers of The New Republic to come to the aid of these folks.

The Belmont County Relief Council, which has enrolled 6,400 unemployed in the fight for relief, urgently needs old clothes to remodel for these people while the fight is being carried on. They have set up a tailor shop in Shadyside and are getting such old clothes from anywhere they can.

During the last two weeks I have visited all sorts of industrial communities in the Middle West, where unemployed citizens' leagues are formed or being formed. The suffering of the workless is universal, but nowhere is it as acute as in this mining country. . . .

The Relief Council, headed by men long active in the miners' union, has also taken over the operation of three mines, to furnish fuel for the winter to all unemployed in Mead Township. They plan to extend this to other townships, while the fight for real relief from the state goes on. New Republic readers who wish to help can send clothes to William R. Truax, chairman, Belmont County Relief Council, 3814 Central Avenue, Shadyside, Ohio.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, Executive Secretary,
Shadyside, Ohio. Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

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A Farewell to Spain

Death in the Afternoon, by Ernest Hemingway. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 517 pages, illustrated. $3.50.

JUST WHY did Ernest Hemingway write a book on bull-fighting? It is, make no mistake, a good book on bull-fighting, full of technical writing as accurate as anything printed in Spanish newspapers like El Sol or A. B. C. and general information presented more vividly and completely than ever before in Spanish or English. Hemingway writes for those who have seen their first bull-fight, or shortly intend to see it, or are wondering whether to do so if they ever visit Spain. He tells them what, where, when, how—the seats to buy, the buses or trains to take, the things to watch for and which of them to applaud, which to salute with a volley of oranges, empty bottles and dead fish. He tells how the bulls are bred and tested, how the matadors are trained, glorified and, in the end, killed off like bulls. He illustrates the text with dozens of good photographs. In appendices, he gives further information, the dates of the principal *corridas* in Spain, Mexico and Peru, the reactions of typical Anglo-Saxons and the achievements of Sidney Franklin the one American matador. Everything is there, even a store of pathetic or hilarious stories to read during dull moments of the fight, if there be any. In a word, he has written a Baedeker of bulls, an admirable volume, but——

Being a good artist, he does a good job, never faking, skimping or pretending. He often talks about himself, but meanwhile keeps his eye on the thing outside, the object to be portrayed; by force of prolonged attention, he makes the object larger than life, fills it with all his knowledge and feeling, with himself. His book about bull-fighting thus becomes something more, a book about sport in general and, since this particular sport is really an art, a book about artistic appreciation and literary criticism, yes, and the art of living, of drinking, of dying, of loving the Spanish land. But all this being said——

Like every good artist, Hemingway employs a double process of selection and diversification, of contraction and expansion. He says: "Let those who want to save the world if you can get to see it clear and as a whole." Writing in Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable he is sometimes more difficult than Whitehead or Paul Valéry, but what he means in this case is made clear enough by the addition of two more monosyllables and a comma. Let those who want to do so save the world, if *you* can get to see it clear and as a whole. Then, he continues, "any part you make will represent the whole if it's made truly." This book, being truly made, represents in its own fashion the whole of life. But all this being said, one must add that the whole it represents is discolored and distorted by the point of view; that the book is full of self-conscious cruelty, bravado, pity and, especially when dying horses are concerned, a sort of uneasiness that ends by communicating itself to the reader. "Death in the Afternoon" is a less important book than "A Farewell to Arms"; its style is often labored and sometimes flowery (and isn't rendered any less so by Hemingway's apologies for fine writing; apologies never help); its best descriptions of bull-fights are less moving than the briefer description in "The Sun Also Rises." For three years, in the midst of a world more tumultuous and exciting than any bull-fight, Hemingway has been writing and repolishing this book. Why did he choose this particular subject, this part to represent the whole?

The answer carries us back fifteen years. During the War, Hemingway served on the Italian front, first as an ambulance driver, later in the shock troops, the Arditi; he was seriously wounded and received two medals. The War, to judge from his books, has been the central experience in his career; he shows the effects of it more completely than any other American novelist. In an article recently printed in The New Republic, I tried to describe these effects in their relation to the writers of Hemingway's generation, which is also mine, reader, and possibly your own. I said that the War uprooted us, cut us off from our own class and country; that it taught us to assume what I called a spectatorial attitude toward life in general; that it encouraged us to write once more about old themes, simple themes like love and death; and, though I did not emphasize the point, that it gave us a sense of self-pity and self-esteem, a bitter aloofness in the midst of armies. The War, I said, "infected us with the slow poison of irresponsibility and unconcern for the future—the poison of travel, too . . . and the poison of danger, excitement, that made our old life intolerable. Then, as suddenly as it began for us, the War ended"—leaving behind it desires and habits which were difficult to satisfy in a world at peace.

Bull-fighting perhaps could serve as an emotional substitute for war. It provided everything, travel, excitement, crowds like armies watching the spectacle of danger. Hemingway says on the second page of his new book, "The only place where you could see life and death, *i. e.,* violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain where I could study it." His motives were not merely emotional; he was "trying to learn to write, commencing with the simplest things," and bull-fighting was an ideal subject; it dealt with fundamentals; apparently it was independent of morality, of social implications, of any connection with politics. "So I went to Spain to see bull-fights and try to write about them for myself. . . . It might be good to have a book about bull-fighting in English and a serious book on such an unmoral subject may have some value."

But the book when he came to write it ten years later disproved a good many of the ideas which he carried with him into Spain. There are contradictions between Hemingway's ideas and the ideas suggested to readers by his narrative. To give an obvious example, "Death in the Afternoon" is not at all an unmoral book, nor does it treat bull-fighting as an unmoral subject. If Hemingway praises the performance of a great matador, almost all his adjectives are rich in moral connotations: they are words like true, emotional, not tricked, pure, brave, honest, noble, candid, honorable, sincere. Other matadors are not merely inartistic: they are low, false, vulgar, cowardly; they are even "cynical."

A second contradiction is more important. "All art," he says, "is only done by the individual. The individual is all you ever have." But almost from beginning to end, "Death in the Afternoon" is a refutation of this idea. It is true that the art of the matador, the great individual, provides the "moment of truth" which is the climax of a good bull-fight, but Hemingway makes it clear that the matador's performance would be impossible without the collaboration of nameless people, dozens of them, hundreds, thousands, in circles gradually widening till they include almost a whole nation and a culture extending for centuries into the past. The matador, to begin with, must depend

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on the work of his own team, his *cuadrilla,* which is charged with the function of conducting the bull through the first two stages of the fight, of regulating his speed and carriage, of preparing him for the "moment of truth" when the sword goes in between the shoulder blades and bull and matador are for the moment one. But the bull, too, must play his part; he must be a brave, "candid" bull of a type that can be raised only by breeders of knowledge and integrity, encouraged by audiences which howl at the sight of inferior animals. The audience, moreover, must appreciate the finer points of the art, must know when to throw small dead animals of all sorts, including fish; it must hold a certain attitude toward bravery and death; it must, in short, be the sort of audience that exists only in Castille, Navarre, Andalusia and perhaps in Mexico City. The government, finally, must grant at the very least an intelligent toleration if the art of bull-fighting is to survive. The government might easily abolish it, not by jailing the matadors, but simply by seizing the ranches where bulls are raised and sending the animals to the slaughterhouse. As for the bull-fighters themselves, they grow up unencouraged, "having a natural talent as acrobats or jockeys or even writers have, and none of them are irreplaceable. . ." And so the author has described a complete circle. He began by saying that the individual, in art, is all you ever have; he ends by deciding that the individual, even the greatest matador, is replaceable and nonessential.

Hemingway is a master at not drawing implications. In this respect as in others, it is interesting to compare "Death in the Afternoon" with "Les Bestiaires," a novel about bull-fighting written by a Frenchman of the same age. Henry de Montherlant sees implications everywhere. The modern *corrida de toros* implies the ancient sacrifice of a white bull to Mithra, which in turn leads him to consider the beauties of ritual, the mysteries of sacrifice, the glories of tradition, Royalism, Catholicism, patriotic ecstasy, till shortly the bulls, the author and his readers together are lost in a haze of emotion. Montherlant is inferior to Hemingway in hardness, honesty, freshness, keen perception, and yet in a sense I think he is justified. Bull-fighting really does imply a certain attitude toward life, a willingness to accept things as they are, bad as they are, and to recompense oneself by regarding them as a picturesque tragedy. Bull-fighting does, I think, imply an aristocracy, an established Church, a proletariat resigned to suffering pain in return for the privilege of seeing pain inflicted on others, and a rabble of gladiators, bootlickers and whores; but I am just as glad that Hemingway does not consciously draw these implications.

I don't mean to say that the book is without political meanings or contradictions. Hemingway detested the dictator Primo de Rivera—for many reasons, probably, but he mentions only one: Primo insisted on protecting the horses with belly-pads and thereby spoiled one part of the *corrida.* Hemingway hates policemen. Hemingway had many friends among the republican politicians when they were being hunted through the Pyrenees, but now they have come into power he is beginning to detest them also: he suspects them of wishing to abolish bull-fights "so that they will have no intellectual embarrassments at being different from their European colleagues when they meet at the League of Nations." Hemingway is disturbed by the peasant jacquerie in Andalusia, which is threatening the bull-breeding ranches, but at the same time he feels an instinctive friendship toward the peasants. I think he realizes the possibility that the Spanish people themselves, and not their government, might put an end to the bull-fight, replacing it by sports and arts more appropriate to a revolutionary society. On this matter, however, he takes no stand. To do so would force him to think about the present and the future, and he has fallen into the habit of writing with his eyes turned backwards.

This habit, revealed engagingly in all his books, is now becoming a vice. During the War, he dreamed about his boyhood in Michigan, where trout lay thickly in the cool streams in July. "One year they had cut the hemlock woods . . . You could not go back"—but you could write about it nostalgically; and later, in Paris and Spain, you could write about the brave days of the War; and still later, in Key West, you could write about Madrid and Pamplona and the bull-fights, always with an elegiac note, a tenderness for things past and never to be recaptured. All through the present book, but especially in the last chapter, one finds this note repeated, this regret for "the one year everyone drank so much and no one was nasty. There really was such a year." "Make all that come true again," he cries. But, "Pamplona is changed . . . Rafael says things are very changed and he won't go to Pamplona any more . . . Pamplona is changed, of course, but not so much as we are older." Always there is this grief for something that has died within us, for a state of security or felicity existing in youth or in the mind. "We will never ride back from Toledo in the dark, washing the dust out with Fundador, nor will there be that week of what happened in the night of that July in Madrid." It is all very brave, hard-boiled and wistful, but there are other chords for Hemingway to strike.

In a sense, every book he has written has been an elegy. He has given us his farewell to Michigan, to Montparnasse, his "Farewell to Arms"; his new book is a sort of elegy to Spain and vanished youth and the brave days of Belmonte and Maera. Hemingway's talent is great enough to justify us in making demands on it. Will he ever give us, I wonder, his farewell to farewells?

MALCOLM COWLEY.

After Slavery

Georgia Nigger, by John L. Spivak. New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam (Harcourt, Brace and Company). $2.50.

"GEORGIA NIGGER" is a novel that might best be described as a documented melodrama. It deals with the plight of the rural Negro who, by tradition and practice, has been a fixture in the plantation system, the controllers of which have dominated public opinion and, to a large extent, have dictated the activities of peace officers and court officials. The author, John L. Spivak, has added an appendix containing photographs of Negro prisoners in chains or stocks or racks, and photostatic copies of 1930-31 prison reports, showing tortures practised in Georgia convict camps.

The body of the book is devoted to the lifelong struggles of an illiterate Negro, David Jackson, with unscrupulous landlords, and cruel prison officials who torture and kill with impunity. Figuring prominently in the tale are: David's family, hard-working and superstitious, who had tried to become independent renters, but were balked by domineering landlords, equinoctial rains and the death of their mule; groups of plantation and small-town Negroes, always fighting and "fornicating" among themselves, with eyes out for the landlord, his overseer or the sheriff; a

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descendant of David's grandfather's owner who, refusing to stoop to the Cracker's methods of exploiting Negroes, retained his library but had no lands beyond his inherited acres; a "poor white" who rode upon the backs of coerced black laborers into the ownership of extensive plantations and the controlling interest in the county-seat bank; other planters who, though driving their own labor, dared only silently to disapprove of the murderous coercion of the county's leading planter; convict guards, usually youthful "poor whites" who got small wages but reveled in the feel of a gun and authority; an unsalaried county physician without public money to provide the needed medical supplies for the treatment of diseased and injured convicts, and without the inclination to respond promptly when called by the camp officials; a camp warden who winked at this criminal inefficiency because the county physician knew the differences between the camp menu reported and that placed before the convicts; Negro convicts who slept in crowded steel cages, who worked in unison with iron collars around their necks or twenty-pound spikes about their ankles or chains on their feet, who were punished by a whipping or a "hog-tie" or the sweatbox or the stocks or the rack, who when mortally injured or fatally sick were provided scarcely any medical attention, and who in case of death from physical violence or lingering disease were officially reported as having died of apoplexy or heart failure.

Many of the conditions depicted are common in the rural Black Belt: for instance, the woefully inadequate physical equipment for the detention of convicts, the nauseatingly crude arrangements for sewage disposal, the lack of proper medical care and the small wages paid convict guards. These are all phases of the South's relatively low per-capita wealth, acutely aggravated by the excessive number of counties, each of which has entirely too little taxable property and entirely too much political autonomy. Within themselves, every one of the many intensely dramatic incidents is representative of some specific situation. The story is obviously a composite one, featuring the most extravagant episodes gleaned from extensive areas. This type of presentation is altogether legitimate, even desirable, in a novel of this kind.

The author's discussion of the plantation situation is the least convincing portion of his book. He has planters, in need of more laborers, offering Negroes monthly wages of $30 and over; he has cotton piled high, and plantation owners further enriching themselves. There is no mention of boll weevils, bankrupt planters and closed banks, migrating Negroes who could not find landlords to "furnish" them, plantations sold for taxes and county officials openly stating that because of the shrinkage in taxes they could no longer afford to maintain the convict camp. The Georgia plantation pictured was that of 1918-22, rather than that of 1928-32. Eight-cent cotton in Georgia—to say nothing of five-cent cotton—does not warrant the inevitable expenses of commercial fertilizers and food and feed for men and mules. It is unfortunate from many angles that the author's socio-economic portrayal does not ring true, primarily because Southerners who are well informed on the economics of the present plantation situation will be led by this shortcoming to discount the author's treatment of the present convict camps.

It would be most unfortunate if Southerners should treat this book as the unfounded accusations of an "outsider." The conditions depicted reflect great discredit on our whole civilization; they cannot be passed over.

ARTHUR F. RAPER.

Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy

The Wife of Rossetti, by Violet Hunt. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 369 pages. $4.

MISS HUNT once challenged Victorian social morality as a "Woman Who Did," and suffered the consequent martyrdom. It is not surprising that she should rise to defend one of her tragic Victorian forerunners. The irony of literary history will set her down as a belated Victorian herself, one of the last of the Pre-Raphaelites. The fading glamor of the Brotherhood enveloped her childhood. They were the flock of ospreys who stirred panic among the cozy dovecotes of British art. She inherited their bohemianism, and her own romantic history was dogged by the same pathos that outwitted Rossetti's friends in their defiance of the dead hand in English art and custom. Thus she writes of them as a family affair, without condescension. That the characteristic English crimes of sentimentality and esthetic ignorance have been charged to the brethren, or that they remained innocent of the reforms which were making contemporary France the field of a prophetic insurgence in painting, is no concern of hers. Miss Hunt saw them plain. And being a woman who suffered by their heritage, she writes her swarming chronicle with a special purpose—the vindication of Lizzie Siddall, the red-haired, swan-necked milliner's apprentice Rossetti married and drove to suicide. "The truth about Rossetti has been told, more or less; the truth about the woman he married, never." For Miss Hunt, Clive Bell's malediction against Pre-Raphaelitism as "that Victorian incubus" has only one meaning: it broke and sent to the grave the fragile spirit of the Blessèd Damozel.

Thus Rossetti and his allies become not merely heroes defying the villainous Royal Academy, but a brood of malcontents and hagglers, pitched between their healthy contempt for English tradition and their crippling affectations of medievalism and mock-innocence. Ruskin, whose "secret garden was Philistia," shambles disconsolately in the wake of that unbridled feminist, Euphemia Gray, his wife, and her lover Millais. Meredith and Carlyle, two further frustrated husbands, fare no better. The attendant ladies are dislodged from their decorative attitudes in the Pre-Raphaelite mythology, and become a crew of scheming "Stunners" weaving the snare of gossip and envy that finally trapped Lizzie. Even Christina, playing the role of vindictive spinster-sister, finds her halo sharply scrutinized. It stands to Miss Hunt's credit that from the excited fervor of her cause, and the refractory Pre-Raphaelite luxuriance of her verbiage, she has rescued an image of the Victorian scene more authentic than that in most of the redundant memoirs of recent years.

What is less to her honor is how completely she has missed her rich opportunities as a critic of British culture. At the outset she disavows writing "in chastened academic language, instead of giving the hot sentences that come from the entrails as well as the heart." The result of this intestinal effort is less a clarifying comment on the problems of Victorian art than a heated romance in the Ouida manner, garnished with lambrequins and what-nots. Miss Hunt has sacrificed a useful occasion in order to write, in the fullness of her indignation and raw nerves, a defense of Woman in the last days of her ancient subjugation. Doubtless it is the perversity of modern realism alone which, given so heroic a vindication of the last sad heroine of romantic poetry, asks for more.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL.

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Mr. Laski's Ideal

Studies in Law and Politics, by Harold J. Laski. New Haven: Yale University Press. 299 pages. $3.

HERE ARE twelve essays on most diverse topics. Expert reviewing would call for partition of the task among six or more different specialists, unless perchance there is in the world some other polymathist like Mr. Laski to call to mind how still the wonder grew. Mr. Laski is equally at home in France, England and America, and he ranges over three centuries, tracing the emergence and development of ideals and techniques that would make for the kind of state and society that he thinks we ought to have. In France he studies the Age of Reason, Diderot and the Socialist Tradition in the French Revolution. In England he considers the problem of a second chamber, the personnel of the Cabinet for over a century, the technique of judicial appointment and the work of courts in various fields. While the only exclusively American essay is one on the political philosophy of Mr. Justice Holmes, other studies in law and political theory invoke not a little of experience on this side of the water.

Mr. Laski recognizes that disparity of subject matter calls for explanation, and he suggests that the essays "are brought into something like unity by the fact that they express a general attitude." This attitude is Mr. Laski's ideal of equality of opportunity. His mind beats for this ideal and he puts it forth in varying forms in page after page. Not that he argues for it. Rather he asserts it, though quietly and pleasantly. Assuming it as a hypothesis, he tests the adequacy of prevailing modes of political action in the light of it. One may without strain imagine how the test applies to the House of Lords and to judicial review of social policy, to judicial procedure in prosecuting constructive contempts and to the traditional attitude of courts toward conformity with the past. It is not so easy to find the best way of selecting judges, and perhaps Mr. Laski's objection to the American requirement of senatorial confirmation might have been modified had he written late enough to add the illustration of Judge Parker to that of Mr. Justice Brandeis.

While economic realities are the ultimates of Mr. Laski's ideal, he touches but little on technical economic problems involved in bringing the ideal to pass. He is concerned rather with political forms and political theories in their bearing on the transformations requisite to a different order. While scholarship and preaching go hand in hand, the scholarship, so far as I can test it, is never seduced by its companion. In the past I have sometimes thought Mr. Laski guilty of playing with old concepts as modernist theologians sometimes play with old creeds, putting new wine into old bottles until the bottles burst. His ideas of pluralistic sovereignty I should prefer to call ideas of pluralistic non-sovereignty. The concept of sovereignty seems to me an invention to promote and sanctify ultimate unitary authority. An invention to promote and sanctify a concatenation of independencies might wisely be given a different name. We may well be told that seldom or never in the world of fact has there been any such animal as the indivisible sovereignty of many political preachers and that we need a different concept better to describe the powers that be and better to promote the powers to be desired; but new concepts like new creeds are more satisfying to the mind if they do not borrow terms of ancient and revered lineage to make themselves more pleasing to those who do not readily pass beyond the word to the idea.

Such are some of the thoughts that I thought I was going to utter when I consented to review Mr. Laski's book. Unhappily he has left me no excuse for them and they are inappropriate here. My disappointment persuades me that very likely I am wrong in my impression of some of his earlier works. Here he shows us the emptiness of most ancient and current jurisprudence and he asks for something new. He refrains from finding ancient sanctions for his preferences where others might be prone to do so. He places Mr. Justice Holmes where he belongs, remote from the role of ally to many who would claim him for their cause. And when he considers political means, he considers them as means to his ends and does not exalt them as good in themselves. These ends doubtless seem to him nearer of attainment than they seem to those who love them less. Fulfilment may now seem to him more remote than it did when some of his essays were written. Then MacDonald seemed MacDonald and Labor's skies were fair. Mr. Laski may reject himself as prophet, as others may reject him as preacher. Yet change is coming in the future as it has come in the past. Change of political pressures and of political ends calls for change of political means, and Mr. Laski's analysis of such adjustments has a permanent value unaffected by recurrent shifting of the wind. Here as elsewhere Mr. Laski writes as a master of the craft—with the sweep and zeal and insight that make him the most stimulating of teachers whether you choose his goal of equality or care for our contemporary counterparts of the ancient regime that provoked the Age of Reason and the Revolution that was not content with thought.

THOMAS REED POWELL.

English Painting from the Seventh Century to the Present Day, by Charles Johnson. New York: The Dial Press. 366 pages. $5.

> So the sixteenth was a century of great statesmen and poets in England but not of great painters. It had its artistic importance, however. English men and women, even when painted by foreigners, left upon their portraits a stamp of quiet grace peculiarly English; for the character of a portrait depends upon the sitter as well as upon the painter.
>
> . . . The angel drives Adam and Eve from Paradise with immense vigor, and below he holds the raiment and the spade with a lofty gesture. "It is high time," he seems to say, "that you had something to wear and also some work to employ your time."

THESE two passages, taken from Charles Johnson's book, indicate the almost inevitable pitfalls which lie in a way of an art historian. The first is typical of all those who let their patriotism be their guide and forcibly compose an independent *history* of their country's art when something more to the point would be a "general development"—that is, an objective picture of how a nation's characteristic art develops out of a mixture of foreign and domestic influences when they are blended and crystallized by the distinctive sentiment of that nation. The second quotation shows how Mr. Johnson, like others before him, yields to temptation and recounts his personal impression of a painting instead of considering its historical value alone.

The volume as a whole is neither a textbook nor the adventuring of a soul among masterpieces. The reader is at the same time conscious of, and unaffected by, the sound knowledge and earnest work which went into its composition.

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Book Notes

Biography

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE: Life and Letters, by Harold Jefferson Coolidge and Robert Howard Lord. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 378 pages. $4.50.*

Professor "Archie" Coolidge was a fine product of American life. His name rarely appeared in a newspaper, or upon the title page of a book; he made few speeches; nevertheless, as a teacher and thinker, he exerted an influence far more important than that of the majority of the actors upon the current political stage. For thirty years Professor Coolidge was a member of the department of History of Harvard University and for many years was director of the university library. He founded and until his death in 1928 was editor of the quarterly journal Foreign Affairs. Professor Coolidge lived much more than a cloistered existence. In addition to reading, he traveled widely, thought deeply and associated with public men in many countries; as a result, his observations upon international problems were among the most cogent of the time. Professor Coolidge's greatest gift, perhaps, was his capacity for friendship. Although a Boston Brahmin in birth and appearance, he had none of the aloofness and smugness often associated with his caste. At his office on the first floor of Widener, the most humble student was welcome, provided he demonstrated a keen and intelligent interest in world problems. Young men from the most varied origins found "Archie" Coolidge a true and patient friend, a wise counsellor. It is well that this biography has appeared to perpetuate his memory.

BERNARD SHAW: Playboy and Prophet, by Archibald Henderson. *New York: D. Appleton and Company. 905 pages. $7.50.*

This is a revised edition of Henderson's biography of Bernard Shaw, brought up to date and with much new material. Professor Henderson is rather a simple-minded individual, absolutely devoid of critical sense, who is occupied principally with playing up to Shaw's publicity-legend about himself as the greatest living phenomenon. (Henderson also gives himself a little publicity: the book contains two portraits of himself.) When he does try to judge his subject, the results are not always happy: he writes of "Heartbreak House"—which, however, he says he has never seen acted—"I have read the play many times, and still find it quite mad and not a little repulsive—nasty as 'The Philanderer' was nasty—with maudlin characters and footless philandering, in an atmosphere of utter aimlessness and futility." Yet his book contains all the information about Shaw, and it is the only book which does—Shaw himself has seen to its accurate documentation—and in its slightly loose and ramshackle way, it makes very entertaining reading.

History

LIBERTY: THE STORY OF CUBA, by Horatio S. Rubens. *New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam (Harcourt, Brace and Company). 447 pages. $2.50.*

Mr. Rubens, who was Consul-General for the Cuban Revolutionary Junta in America, gives an account in this volume of the liberation of Cuba. In contrast to Mr. Walter Millis' "Martial Spirit," this book paints the Cuban revolutionaries in glowing terms. Mr. Rubens presents evidence to show, moreover, that the American President has no right, under the Platt Amendment, to intervene in Cuban affairs without the formal consent of Congress. Although this volume is loosely written, it should not be ignored by a historian working in this period.

A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF EUROPE, by Carlton J. H. Hayes. *New York: The Macmillan Company. Vol. I; 1500-1830. 883 pages, illustrated. $3.50.*

This work aims to tell the story of modern Europe in two volumes. The first, now presented, treats of the predominantly agricultural period, from the sixteenth to the early part of the nineteenth century. As a textbook of European history for college students, it is characterized by fullness and richness of material as well as by general accuracy and deep insight. The easy mastery,

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flowing style and complete impartiality should also gain for the book a public outside of college walls. The book contains a large number of maps and illustrations.

Fiction

PEKING PICNIC, by Ann Bridge. *Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.*

The characters of "Peking Picnic" are drawn from the legation society of Peking which, since it has refused to move with the government to Nanking, has condemned itself to disguised idleness. A dilettante interest in classic Chinese culture is largely taking the place of a living contact with Chinese life. The story confines itself to what happened during an excursion to a temple outside Peking but inside a bandit danger zone. The drama is almost wholly Occidental, a typical psychological crisis between exquisite individuals, a crisis primed for discharge through a love affair adorned with psychological refinements. Nevertheless it is the encounter with Chinese bandits which, though subsidiary to the main situation, proves the most interesting part of the story. For an interval conflicting racial traits are drawn to dramatic counterpoint. English force succeeds over Chinese and, by a not too remote analogy, the universal aristocrat wins over the universal proletarian. The confident consciousness of racial and class superiority that the English heroine possesses gets the victory long before English soldiers arrive to confirm it. This first novel is gracefully written; it shows charm and psychological penetration; but it is further from first-rate fiction than one might expect from the winner of the $10,000 Atlantic Monthly prize contest.

Contributors

Ludwig Lore, a well known German-American journalist living in New York City, was for fifteen years editor-in-chief of The New Yorker Volkszeitung.

R. R. Kuczynski, who has been a member of the staff of the Brookings Institution at Washington and director of the municipal statistical office of Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany, is the author of "The Balance of Births and Deaths." He is at present in Europe for travel and research.

Charles A. Beard, who is better known as the author of numerous volumes on history and politics than as "a dairy farmer of Connecticut," a phrase which he uses as a description of his present occupation, recently published "A Charter for the Social Sciences."

Maxwell Anderson, the author of several Broadway successes, "Outside Looking In," "Saturday's Children," "Elizabeth the Queen," and "What Price Glory" (the last written in collaboration with Laurence Stallings), has lately been working in Hollywood, his most recent picture being "Washington Merry-Go-Round."

James Joyce, the author of "Ulysses," "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," a volume of verse and several other books, is at present completing "Work in Progress," long sections of which have been published in magazines and in book form under various titles.

Paul Rosenfeld, who has written a number of critical volumes on art, music and letters, is in New York City working on his second novel, his first having been "Boy in the Sun."

Arthur F. Raper, who took his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina, is director of research of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation. He is the author of "The Tragedy of Lynching," to be published in February by the University of North Carolina Press.

Morton Lauwen Zabel, professor of English at Loyola University, is associate editor of "Poetry: A Magazine of Verse."

Thomas Reed Powell, Langdell Professor of Law in the Harvard Law School, is the author of several volumes on legal subjects and a frequent contributor to legal periodicals.

Gene Lux, sculptor, lecturer and former art critic for Die Neue Freie Press in Vienna, is now contributing to several American magazines and writing a book on art history from a psychological standpoint.

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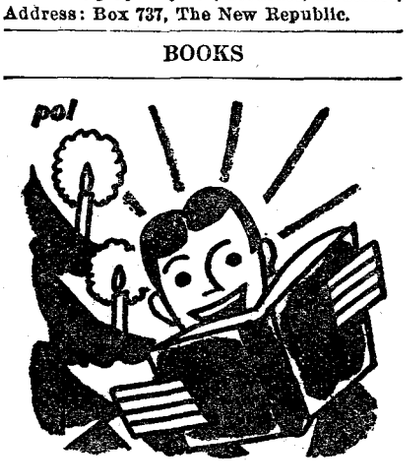

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